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Pitirim Sorokin's Sistema sotsiologii: A Summary

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The author submitted this summary to Professor Sorokin for his personal consideration and received the following comments:

"All in all Mr. Isajiw has given an accurate characterization of the main points of my Russian two-volume System of Sociology. The only point which needs some mitigation of emphasis is that on the first pages of his work he stresses too much my behavioristic and mechanistic standpoint in this work. It is true that in this work behavioristic and physicalistic approach is stressed much more than in my later work. However, even in these Russian volumes I sharply criticized one-sided physicalistic and behavioristic theories, and again and again reiterated the importance of a study of psychological experiences of man with use of even introspective methods and importance of this method for an adequate grasp of psychosocial realities.

"This means that a subsequent evolution of my views consisted not of a sharp break with my earlier approaches, but in an increasing emphasis of the meaningful character of psychosocial phenomena, and of an importance of these phenomena for understanding and study of human behavior, interhuman relationships, social groups, and culture.

"All other points of my work are quite correctly characterized in Mr. Isajiw's study."

(signed) Pitirim A. Sorokin
Professor of Sociology
Director, Harvard Research Center of Creative Altruism

Pitirim Alexandrovitch Sorokin is known to American sociologists primarily for his works in English, published after his arrival in this country. Relatively little is known about his sociology written in Russian before that time. This article attempts to summarize his *Sistema sotsiologii*.

Born in 1889, Sorokin received a degree of magister in criminal law in 1916 at the University of St. Petersburg; he taught sociology there from 1919 to 1922, and took his doctorate in sociology there in 1922. Banished from Russia in 1922, he arrived in the United States in 1923. From 1924 to 1930 he taught at the University of Minnesota, and since 1930 he has been teaching at Harvard University.¹

According to a letter received from Sorokin (December 5, 1955), his works in the field of law and the sociology of law published before his arrival in this country include: *Prestuplenie*

¹ Cf. Pitirim A. Sorokin, Leaves From a Russian Diary (Boston: The Beacon Press, 1950). Also, the Standard Who's Who, 1955.

i kara, podvig i nagrada (Crime and Punishment, Heroism and Reward), 1914; Obshtchaia Teoria Prava (General Theory of Law), 1920; Essays in Social Politics and Morality (in Russian), and several papers in criminal law or the general theory of law.

According to the same letter from Sorokin, the gist of his early sociological theories appears in his two-volume Sistema sotsiologii, published in 1920 in Petrograd. On the back cover page of this work, two other works are mentioned, though they were not mentioned in his letter, nor in the Standard Who's Who, nor in reference books on the history of social thought. They are Problemi sotsialnogo revenstva (The Problems of Social Equality), 1917, and Obshtchedostupny utchebnik sotsiologii (A Popular Textbook of Sociology), 1920.

None of these works apparently has ever been translated into English. For this paper, Sorokin's *Sistema sotsiologii* has been selected in particular. There are, however, some references made to his *Prestuplenie i kara*, podvig i nagrada.

Commenting on the originality of his early sociological theories in a letter to the present writer, Sorokin writes:

As to the early phase of these theories, possibly three Russian scholars have exerted some influence upon my views at an early period. They are, first, Professor Leon Petrazycki (whom I regarded and regard as the greatest scholar of law of the 20th century)... Second and third, Professors M. Kovalevsky and Eugene de Roberty. These early ideas, however, were radically transformed under the influence of the First World War, and especially of the Russian Communist Revolution amidst which I lived during the first five years of this Revolution up to 1922 when I was banished from Russia.

Of course, during my student days I studied well the history of philosophy, of social, political, and economic ideas, and was well acquainted with eminent sociologists of modern time, like Durkheim, Pareto, Max Weber, and others, including some brilliant Catholic thinkers like Joseph de Maistre and de Bonald. All in all, however, the first three scholars, and especially the tragic events of the First World War and of the Russian Revolution, were far more decisive factors in molding my later views than any

other academic source.

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Incidentally, the first volume of the *Sistema* is a dedicated to Kovalevsky and de Roberty.

Sistema sotsiologii contains the basic framework of Sorokin's

present-day sociology, which has been used and developed in his Social and Cultural Dynamics, Sociocultural Causality, Time and Space, and especially in his Society, Culture and Personality.² Indeed, the first half of Society, Culture and Personality reproduces this framework almost literally, with very minor changes. It lacked, however, the strong emphasis on values, so characteristic of Sorokin's present day sociology; in fact, his early sociology betrays some behavioristic, and even mechanistic, tendencies, at least in its presentation. In general, Sistema sotsiologii strikes the reader with its high degree of systematization, clarity, and facility of expression.

Basic Principles

In the introduction to the *Sistema sotsiologii*, Sorokin states that these two volumes embrace only the first part of his sociology, "Social Analytics." This social analytics, however, is a prelude to the main part of sociology, "Social Mechanics." He thus promises eight volumes of his complete *Sistema sotsiologii*. Before explaining his social analytics, Sorokin states five basic principles:

1. Sociology as a science can and should be constructed after the pattern of the natural sciences. The objects of study of the different disciplines are different, but the methods of study are the same. We should not even speak about some contrast between "natural" and "cultural" sciences.

2. Sociology can and should be a theoretical science, studying humanity as it is. Any normatism should be banished from sociology as a science. Truth should be disconnected from Goodness, Justice, and similar principles. They are incommensurable and heterogeneous. . . All normative statements and values . . because of their logical nature cannot be scientific judgments. A different thing is applied sociology — sociology as an art. Here normatism is opportune. It forms the basis of applied sociological art. But such discipline is not a science. . . .

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² In his mimeographed letter entitled "Similarities and Dissimilarities Between Two Sociological Systems," and circulated among sociologists in 1951, Sorokin alleges that the framework of his sociology is contained in his Sistema sotsiologii. However, he gives no further references to the work, and furnishes no citations.

The works referred to were published in the following sequence: Social and Cultural Dynamics (4 vols., New York: American Book Co., 1937-41); Sociocultural Causality, Time and Space (Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press, 1943); Society, Culture, and Personality (New York: Harper and Bros., 1947).

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3. Sociology should be an objective discipline — objective not only in the sense of the absence of norms, and in the sense of the method of studying phenomena, but also in a greater, special meaning of this term. Sociology till now has been a science studying, to an important degree, "psychological reality." The latter's character, however, . . . is not that of an "object." It is impossible to feel, to weigh, and to measure it. All that has led and is leading to subjectivism in sociology.... The task of the future is to free sociology of that psychological subjectivism. . . . Similarly, as recent psychology is being objectivized from a science of ungraspable "states of consciousness" into an objective study of human behavior or into reflexology, or physiology of the nervous system, so also, sociology should gradually change from a science of vague "psychological realities" into an objective discipline, studying psycho-social phenomena of an "object" character, which admit observation and possibility of its being "felt" and "measured." Through such phenomena, we can count the acts, external motive reactions of an individual, living in the midst of others like him, in short — phenomena of the interaction of people. To free itself from subjective psychologism is the task of sociology. This task, as will be seen from the text, at this time is not fully accomplished. But an effortful striving towards its accomplishment is necessary.

4. In so far as sociology wants to be an experimental and exact science, it has to stop "philosophizing." . . . It should proceed from facts, go to facts, and give generalizations based on a careful analysis of facts. Less philosophizing and more observation and careful analysis of facts. . . .

5. A break with philosophizing means also a break with the idea of "monism" — illegitimate child of an illegitimate marriage of sociology with philosophy. . . . "Monism" is a consequence of dogmatic philosophizing and not an inference of experimentation and observation. . . . A consistent sociological pluralism is his [the author's] position.³

The Object and Importance of Sociology, and Its Relation to Other Sciences

To determine the object of sociology, it is necessary to establish a point of view on some type of phenomena, different from the points of view of any other science. Sociology thus studies, on the one hand, the phenomena of the interaction of

³ P. A. Sorokin, *Sistema sotsiologii* (2 vols., Petrograd: "Kolos" Publishing Company, 1920), I, ix-xi. Hereafter, through footnote 37, all references to this work, including those which appear following the references to other works, will be indicated only by the page number of Vol. I.

people with one another, and on the other, the phenomena which follow from this interaction. Is this object important enough; is it *sui generis*, not contained in the other sciences; is it unnecessary in the face of the other sciences?

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The importance of this study can be assessed from two points of view, practical and theoretical. From the practical point of view, the importance of studying human interaction cannot be doubted, since science has been and is one of the means in the struggle for existence. From the theoretical point of view, if it can be proved that the phenomena of human interaction are sui generis and are not contained in any other science, this fact itself is sufficient to "justify" the existence of sociology as an autonomous science. Consequently, Sorokin goes on to show that the phenomena of human interaction are not studied as an object of any other science. Solvay and Barcelo attempted to study them in physics or chemistry, but they have not reduced human interaction to physical or chemical processes, and such reduction would do away with man as man entirely. Quoting O. Hlezer, Sorokin agrees that social-psychological interaction sharply separates man from the physical world and thus offers a specific basis for the autonomy of their study. In like manner, since human interaction cannot be reduced to biology, it is distinct from the interaction studied by zoosociology and phytosociology, and requires a third study, homosociology; no analysis could show that man is not man, or that man is a mere amoeba. Similarly, individual psychology studies phenomena within the boundaries of the individual, and not phenomena of inter-psychical or inter-mental nature; collective psychology, on the other hand, even if its object is loosely bound interaction (e.g., crowd), as it is defined by Tarde and Rossi, is contained within sociology, which studies all basic forms of interaction among people.5

Since all social sciences deal with human interaction (e.g., law, political economics, ethics, religion), how is sociology related to them? Sorokin distinguishes three groups with different positions: (1) those who consider sociology as just a corpus, or label for the totality of all other social sciences (earlier Durkheim, Fauconnet), (2) those who hold that the object of sociology is that part of social reality which is not studied by the other social sciences (Simmel, Gumplowicz), and (3) those who hold

⁴ P. 2.

⁵ Pp. 4-20.

the object of sociology to be all the generic properties of the phenomena of human interaction (Kovalevsky, de Roberty, Ward, Ellwood, Worms, later Durkheim).

Sorokin accepts the position of the third school, stating that "sociology is a science studying the most general properties of the phenomena of interaction of people, whose separate modes or aspects are studied by the special, the so-called social, sciences." 6 Quoting Petrazycki, Sorokin holds that on the principle of adequacy of theory, it is necessary that whenever there is a differentiation of sciences there should be a "generalizing" science, enabling a better functioning of these different sciences. The "social sciences," studying the "modes" of the generic phenomena of human interaction, require a science studying the generic phenomena themselves, i.e., sociology. As the progress of these specialized sciences depends on the progress of sociology, so the progress of sociology depends on the progress of the specialized sciences. There is a similar relation between physiology, anatomy, morphology, and the general science of biology; between organic and inorganic chemistry and the general science of chemistry.7

The Structure of Sociology and Its Basic Divisions

The structure of any science is not a question of a principle, but rather a matter of scientific convenience and especially practical productivity. Thus sociology can be divided into two large divisions: theoretical sociology, studying human interaction from the point of view of what is; and practical sociology, studying human interaction from the point of view of what should be. The structures of the two, from the standpoint of logic, are quite different.

Theoretical sociology has three basic divisions: social analytics, social mechanics, and social genetics.

Social analytics studies the structures of the social phenomena in their basic forms. This area can be further divided into (1) studying simple social phenomena — their definition, analysis into elements, and classification — and (2) studying more complex social units based on combinations of the simple social phenomena — their definitions, analysis into simpler social phenomena, and classification. Thus social analytics is analogous to anatomy; it studies social phenomena, first of all, as they are

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⁶ P. 30.

static, in space (not in time), and secondly, as they are struc- a tured (not as they function).

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Social mechanics or "social physiology" studies the processes of human interaction or "the behavior of people and the forces by which it is evoked and formed." 8 The task of social mechanics is first of all to classify the stimuli or factors of human behavior, and secondly, to study the influence of each of these stimuli through their impact on the behavior of people, on social phenomena. The properties and functions of these stimuli should first be studied separately, as in chemistry each element is studied separately, but later in combinations with others. If social mechanics would succeed at least partially in analyzing and classifying the forces that form human behavior. it would enable us to draw back at least a little of that "mysterious cover . . . which still hides from us the mysteries of the social processes, and makes nations and humanity not masters of their fate, but pitiful toys of the incomprehensible and unknown social forces." 9 Sorokin adds that such social mechanics would make sociology a true science.

Social genetics formulates historical tendencies or lines of w development which reveal themselves in the unrepetitive, temporal development of the entire social life, as well as its separate a parts and institutions. In other words, "social genetics studies A the basic, constant lines of the development of social life, as to given in time, and not in space." 10 Unlike history, it formu- lo lates "only the most common, generic tendencies of development | m given in time." 11 Social genetics can be a testing device of the e theories of social mechanics.12

Turning to his second general division of sociology — practical sociology — Sorokin speaks of "an applied discipline which, being based on the laws formulated in theoretical sociology, n would enable humanity to govern the social forces, to use them to in accord with accepted purposes, similar to applied chemistry, a technology, . . . which gave humanity the service of forces of h steam, electricity. . . . " 13 In rather emphatic phrases, Sorokin e laments that till this time humanity has not known how to o utilize "social-psychological energy," how to make "an ignorant en person wise, a criminal honest, a weak-willed person, strong- n willed"; often "we do not know what is 'good' and what is 'bad,' e

⁸ P. 39.

⁹ P. 40.

¹⁰ P. 41.

¹¹ P. 41.

¹² Pp. 36-41.

¹³ P. 42.

and even when we do know, again and again we are unable to fight with 'temptations.' "14

In distinction to the empty, even though pompous, "systems of morality," in greater part representing a collection of . . . phrases unable either to alter or to cure anything, social politics [practical sociology] . . . should be a system of prescriptions pointing out precise means for the struggle with the social psychological sicknesses, . . . for the best utilization of the social psychological energy. In short, it should be an experimental system of individual and social ethics as a theory of proper behavior.16

The Concept of Human Interaction and the Methods of Its Study

Human interaction occurs "when a change of psychical experience or external acts of one individual is evoked by the experiences and external acts of another individual (individuals); when between the first and the second there exists a functional tie. . . . "16 When the psychological experiences of A are dependent upon the existence and conditions of B, i.e., when B is a stimulus to the psychological conditions and behavior of A, we can say that A and B interact. Secondly, whenever the external acts of A are observed to be a function of the conditions and existence of B, we can say that there is interaction between A and B. Under "external acts" Sorokin understands all external, observable movements of an individual, including physiological processes and acts. The totality of such external acts makes up what is called the "behavior" of man. Finally, whenever both the psychical experiences and the external acts of A are conditioned by the existence and the conditions of B, we can say that there is interaction between A and B.

How can we say in any given case that there is or there is gy, no interaction, since some elements of interaction are not exnem terior? Sorokin answers by quoting several sociologists who try, assert that there are no changes in psychical phenomena which of have no external or internal physiological processes. Therefore, kin even if such changes existed, "the facts of interaction where to only the psychic conditions of A are changed due to the existant ence of B, and the behavior of A is not changed, such facts are ng- not accessible to observation, we cannot know whether they ad,' exist; consequently, they are the same as non-existent, even if they were possible." 17 As a result of this, Sorokin modifies his

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¹⁴ P. 42.

¹⁵ P. 43.

¹⁶ P. 44.

¹⁷ P. 49.

definition of interaction to state that "human interaction takes place whenever the behavior of one individual, in some cases accompanied by consciousness, in others, not, is a function of the behavior of some other individual or individuals." ¹⁸ This definition in turn induces Sorokin to modify also his definition of sociology, which now reads: "Sociology is a science of the behavior of people who are in a process of interaction, and of the result of such behavior." ¹⁹

If we thus eliminate from sociology the study of the purely psychical experiences which are not objectivized by any external signs, should we study interaction from only the external, objective data, ignoring the internal, psychic experiences of the interacting individuals? Or should we study also the involved subjective experiences? In answering these questions, Sorokin presents the view of the "objective" and the "subjective" schools of psychology and sociology but finds the latter's concepts of "psychic" and "psychic experiences" defined vaguely. He is thus compelled "to reduce to a minimum the use of psychological terms, to turn to the analysis of the subjective-psychic experiences for the sake of the explanation of this or that phenomenon only in exceptional cases, and to introduce, if possible. a precision into the sphere of study of such phenomena." 20 Yet, the psychical phenomena are important; including them adds something to our knowledge of human behavior. Ellwood's views on the insufficiency of just the objective method in sociology are at least partially justified.

The starting and the basic method of the study of the phenomena of interaction of people can and should be the objective method, studying the external acts — facts of functional dependence of behavior of given individuals on the existence and behavior of other individuals. A sociologist is simply compelled to start from external acts, go from them to other external acts and end with external acts, establishing connections between them.²¹

But,

In view of a greater fulness of analysis of the studied phenomena, on a par with the objective method, which deals only with external, accessible for observation facts, in the capacity of a helping method can be admitted also the it

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¹⁸ P. 50.

¹⁹ P. 50.

²⁰ P. 63.

²¹ P. 75.

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method of introspection, directed to the analysis of the psychial experiences of people. The use of the latter for the explanation of a series of phenomena can facilitate and throw light upon our understanding of many phenomena as long as it does not shake the data of objective observation.²²

Analysis of Elements of Interaction: "Simple Social Phenomena"

Since social life is so infinitely varied and complex, to study it without some decomposition and simplification is impossible. But what can be a simple fact in the realm of human relations; what phenomena can serve as a small model of the complex mechanism of social phenomena? After considering several proposed models, Sorokin states that "interaction of two or any greater number of individuals is a general conception of social phenomena; it can serve as a model of the latter. Studying the structure of this model, we can cognize also the structure of all social phenomena. Decomposing interaction into its constituent parts, we at the same time decompose into parts the complex social phenomena themselves." 28

The constituent parts or elements of interaction are those which are indispensable for the interaction to take place. They are: (1) the presence of two or more *individuals* conditioning the experiences and behavior of one another, (2) the presence of *acts* by means of which they condition mutual experiences and behavior, (3) the presence of *vehicles* which transmit the action or the stimulation of acts from one individual to another, Sorokin calls these constituent parts *elements* of interaction and states that "a combination of them, making up the phenomenon of interaction, forms . . . a peculiar unity or a separate system, . . . as a reality *sui generis*." ²⁴ He presents a detailed analysis of the three elements.

Analyzing "the individual" as an element of interaction, Sorokin distinguishes the basic biological and psychological properties of man, the polymorphism of individuals and the basic needs of man. Among the biological properties of man, following Pavlov, he includes as functions of the higher nervous system, an analyzing activity consisting of analysis and division of stimuli acting on the organism, and a contacting activity consisting of connection of the organism with the analyzed stimuli. Among the psychological properties of man he distinguishes

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three types of psychic experiences: cognitive, emotional and volitional. Individuals vary because of the physical, psychological, and social differences among them. The basic needs of men are ten: hunger and thirst, sex, the need of individual self-defense, the need of group self-defense, the need of movement, the need of breathing, sleep, discharge of the surplus energy (play), and other physiological needs, the need of intercourse with those like oneself, the need of intellectual activity, the need of emotional experiences, and the need of the activity of the will — this last including the desire of fame, power, justice, sacrifice, etc.25

Analyzing "acts" as elements of interaction, Sorokin first points out that though the mere existence of an individual can be a stimulus for other individuals, it is specifically the acts of individuals that sustain interaction. Human acts, as stimuli, can be divided into: (1) acts of doing, and (2) acts of not doing. Acts of doing are all acts which involve some movement; acts of not doing do not involve any external movement or involve it in a minimal and unobservable degree. Such acts can be either acts of patience or acts of abstaining from recreation; both, however, are still stimuli for human behavior.

From another standpoint acts, as stimuli, can be classified vid as exhibiting an intense influence on the experiences and behavior of others, or exhibiting an insignificant influence on the experiences and behavior of others; secondly, as those whose influence on the behavior and experiences of others is rather last ing (even for life), or those whose influence is rather short or ter instantaneous. All these can be connected among themselves, the

From still another point of view, human acts can be classified as unconscious acts and conscious acts. The first include inte all the reflexes, instincts, and automatic or habitual acts; the latter include primarily purposive acts, but also purposeless org acts. Both are present in man and both serve as stimuli for be- sific havior. Here Sorokin points to Pareto's classification of acts hich and shows where it is similar and where it differs from his classification. He criticizes Pareto's classification, though it would hea be found useful in his Social Mechanics.26

Turning now to "vehicles of action" Sorokin states that this as

²⁵ Pp. 83-101.

²⁶ Pp. 101-110. Also, P. A. Sorokin, Prestuplenie i kara, podvig i nagrada (Petrograd: J. H. Dalbysheff Publishing Company, 1914), Chaps. I, II.

nd important element of interaction has never been touched upon giby any sociologist; hence his analysis of this element is detailen ed. Under the vehicles of action Sorokin understands "all those lemeans in virtue of which stimulation coming from given indint, viduals is transmitted and comes to other individuals." 27 One gy individual cannot know directly the psychic experiences of another individual, or arouse in the latter any such expeed riences without mediation by some external, non-psychical he phenomena. "The 'intercourse of souls' is always achieved through mediation by non-psychical agents or vehicles. Without the latter, psychic interaction is absolutely inconceivable." 28 st We observe that people interact with one another, physically an and psychically, in spite of great distances or time that separate of them. Moreover, "there can be an interaction between the living lli, and the dead." 29 If we ask how such facts are possible, we see 10at once that the indispensable condition of their occurrence is t; the presence of vehicles of interaction which "transmit to the n- members of a system of interaction their mutual actions and an reactions." 30 Such vehicles, as defined above, on the basis of n; the character of the effects evoked by them, and on the basis of the character of the stimulants transmitted by them, can be died vided into (1) purely "physical vehicles," as for example, a be-light stroke with a stick or a sword produces a physical rex- action in the organism, and (2) "vehicles-symbols," or "vehiclesn- signals," as for example, the stroke with a stick or a sword might st transmit psychic experiences of being made a knight. The lator ter are the more common vehicles in human interaction; for es. their proper functioning a homogeneous expression of psychic experiences and a homogeneous interpretation of them by those ISde interacting is necessary.31

Due to their physical nature and to their dependence on the organs of reception on which they act, all vehicles can be classified as vehicles of sound (including language and music), vehicles of light and color (including all writing and painting), vehicles of movement-mimicry, mechanical vehicles (e.g., tools), heat vehicles (e.g., fire or heating system), chemical vehicles (e.g., drugs), electrical vehicles, and object-elements (e.g., tools as objects as such). Sorokin admits that this classification logically is rather crude, but nonetheless it serves its purpose in

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²⁷ P. 147.

²⁸ P. 116. Also, Prestuplenie i kara, pp. 25-40.

²⁹ P. 117.

³⁰ P. 117.

³¹ Pp. 120-122.

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showing the general, important kinds of vehicles which are indispensable for human interaction. In reality, human interaction takes place through a chain of such vehicles and very often other individuals serve as connectors of a number of such chains. In their combinations these vehicles present what is called the material culture. 32

Classification of Forms of Interaction

The three elements of interaction distinguished above offer a basis for classifying the forms of interaction as (1) dependent upon the quantity and quality of individuals, (2) as dependent upon the character of acts, and (3) as dependent upon the character of vehicles.

Depending upon the number of interacting individuals, interaction can take place (1) between two individuals, (2) between one and many individuals, and (3) between groups of individuals. Depending upon the quality of individuals, the forms of interaction differ among individuals belonging to (a) same family; (b) same state; (c) same race; (d) same language group; (e) same sex; (f) same age; (g) same profession, degree of wealth ownership, religion, scope of rights and obligations, political party, scholarly artistic, literary tastes, etc. Likewise, the forms of interaction differ when in each of the above categories there is a number of not the same but different in character entities. It follows that "the character and properties of interaction of people one with another are functionally connected with the character and properties of the interacting individuals." ³³

The forms of interaction depending upon the character of acts can be grouped in hundreds or thousands of ways. Some of the most important of such forms are:

(I) Depending upon the acts of doing or non-doing, interaction can consist of (1) an exchange of acts of doing from both sides, (2) an exchange of acts of doing from one side, and acts of patience or abstaining from reaction from the other side, (3) an exchange of acts of non-doing from one side and acts of doing from the other side, and (4) an exchange of acts of non-doing from both sides.

(II) One-sided and two-sided interaction. One-sided interaction takes place when the experiences and behavior of one

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side depend and are conditioned by another side, but the experiences and the behavior of the latter do not depend on the former. Two-sided interaction occurs when the experiences and behavior of the individuals are mutually conditioned.

(III) Long and short interaction. An example of the former is the relation of husband and wife or parents and children; an example of the latter is the relation of a seller and a buyer, or a casual meeting of strangers in a street car; relations leaving no lasting mark. But is a long lasting interaction possible, when for example, two individuals are far apart and there are no external signs of any interaction, no vehicles of mutual actions and reactions? Sorokin answers in the affirmative and explains that some acts of human behavior can have an influence for a long time after their commission. This ability also accounts for the continuity of human interaction.

(IV) Antagonistic and solidary interaction. Antagonistic interaction occurs when one party intends to induce another party to acts which the latter does not want to commit or disagrees with their commitment. Antagonisms can be divided into: one-sided and two-sided; unconditional and conditional, based on the character of the antagonistic groups, e.g., national, racial, etc., and based on different interests (political, economic). Further, they can be divided into conscious and unconscious; those flowing from similarities between individuals, and those flowing from differences between them; those between two individuals and individual and a group, or between groups. Contrary to antagonistic interactions, solidarity interaction takes place when one party intends to induce another party to such acts which the latter also intends to perform. Solidary interaction can be divided into the same categories as the antagonistic interaction. Different human needs can also offer a basis for a further differentiation of solidary interaction.

(V) Patterned and non-patterened interaction. The first one consists of interaction which has been often repeated. A unity of patterned interaction in a given sphere can be called an institution, and a system of institutions creates an organization. Following Waxweiler, Sorokin gives the following scheme of the development of patterned interaction: act — its repetition (habit) — custom — law — institution — organization. Nonpatterned relations are new relations which as yet have had no time to go through these stages. Non-patterned interaction

is characteristic of a crowd or a public.

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(VI) Conscious and unconscious interaction. This form of interaction can appear in different modes; (1) both parties may be conscious of interaction, (2) both parties may be unconscious of such interaction, (3) one party may be a conscious stimulus to an unconscious reaction of another party, (4) one party may be an unconscious stimulus to a conscious reaction of the other party. Furthermore, the first type of interaction can be further differentiated on the basis of knowledge of the purposes pursued by the respective individuals in their interaction, or on the basis of the character of these purposes.

(VII) Intellectual, emotional, and volitional interaction. The distinction between the three is based on the predominance of one of these elements as a "matter" of interaction, as scientific lectures are distinguished from a dance or from interaction

between a superior and an inferior.34

Depending upon the vehicles, the forms of interaction can be differentiated into interaction based on the nature of the vehicles, and mediate and immediate interaction. Thus, for example, depending upon the vehicle of sound, different languages induce different interaction among people; or depending upon the vehicle of light, interaction can be carried through books, newspapers, etc. A mediate interaction occurs when an act-stimulus (and reaction) reaches another individual only with the help of other individuals, who function as vehicle-connectors; immediate interaction is when such connectors are not needed.³⁵

Phenomenon of Interaction as a Collective Unity

Since individuals can influence the behavior and psychic conditions of one another, and since such interaction when taken as a whole presents a system involving a close functional connection between the centers of interaction, we can consider the phenomena of interaction as a separate unity or a collective individuality. The "casual or functional relationships" between the interacting individuals form the bases of this unity and distinguish it from a pile of stones, for example, which involves no functional relations among the separate stones. The conception of interaction as a collective unity enables us to consider all the forms of interaction presented above as kinds of collective unities and enables us to make a transition from the con-

35 Pp. 226-231.

³⁴ Pp. 195-226. Also, Prestuplenie i kara, Ch. VII.

sideration of simple social aggregates to complex social aggregates. That is, now we can consider as the unit of our analysis, not the individual but the collective unity, and proceed according to the degree of complexity, from analysis of simple social groups to analysis of the most complex social bodies. Thus it is illegitimate to take up an analysis of the complex social phenomena without a previous analysis of the individual phenomena. This also enables accepting a position which is different from both social nominalism and social realism. For,

society or collective unity, as an aggregate of interacting people, is different from a simple sum of non-interacting individuals.... In the quality of such a *sui generis* reality, it has a series of properties, phenomena and processes, which are not and cannot be contained in the sum of isolated individuals. But, contrary to realism, society exists not "outside" of, and "independent" of individuals, but only as a system of interacting units, without which and outside of which it is inconceivable and impossible as any phenomenon without its constituent elements is impossible.³⁶

Factors of Emergence, Preservation, and Disintegration of Collective Unities

According to their ability to induce interaction between two or more individuals, all the possible factors of emergence, preservation and disintegration of collective unities can be grouped into three categories: (1) cosmic (physico-chemical) factors, (2) biological factors and (3) social-psychological factors. These three kinds of factors account both for the emergence and preservation as well as for the disintegration of collective entities. The cosmic factors include territory, temperature, water, light, topography, soil, fire, etc. All these either bring people together or cause their separation. The biological factors include the need of food, drink; instincts of self-preservation; sex, and connected with it, reproduction, parenthood, similarities of race, etc. Finally, the social-psychological factors have as their basis the need of uniting with those similar to oneself. and the need to exchange ideas, feelings, emotions, and activities of the will. Again, all these needs can bring and keep people together when the ways of their satisfaction coincide; or separate them, when these ways differ. Here the vehicles of interaction play an important part. An increasing number of them may stimulate interaction, whereas their lack or their "atrophy"

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³⁶ P. 247.

may account for a decrease of interaction and consequently a disintegration of collective unities.37

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Common Bases of Social Grouping Criteria for Classification of Groups

In treating the problem of the common bases of social grouping, the procedure of sociology can be compared to that of biology, where the scientist proceeds from studying cells to the study of tissues and organisms. Once again Sorokin stresses the necessity of studying the individual before undertaking the study of groups. "Any population presents a complex social aggregate, consisting of a combination of interacting persons, which breaks up not simply into individuals, but into two or any greater number of collective unities, and these in their turn, break up into individuals." 38 In other words, "collective unities in such complex social aggregates have, as it were, an intermediate place between the individual and the entire complex aggregate or population, the latter being understood as a combination of collective unities." 39 The term "collective unities" refers to real social unities based on the principle of the functional or causal bond of the interacting individuals, and not fictional categories. The functional bond of the interacting individuals, i.e., the mutual functional conditioning of their behavior and experiences, maintains different collective unities. Thus "the different degrees of mutual conditioning of behavior (and experiences) of co-existing individuals entail the appearance and existence of an entire pyramid of collective unities within the bounds of one and the same quantity of individuals (population)." 40 All individuals bound together according to intensity of interaction, by the same bond, would present one collective unity. But "observation shows that individuals, conditioning their mutual experiences with the same intensity, can form not one but a number of separate collective unities." 41 The bonds which unite the interacting individuals vary with such properties of people as race, sex, age, nationality, religion, wealth, profession, political parties, etc., which evoke a distinction of their behavior (e.g., different antagonisms or solidarities). Since an individual

³⁷ Pp. 249-355.

 $^{^{38}}$ V. II, p. 15. Hereafter, the page numbers refer to Vol. II of Sistema sotsiologii. 40 P. 21.

³⁹ P. 15.

⁴¹ P. 25.

can possess a number of "distinguishing properties," he can belong to a number of different collective unities.

It can be stated without doubt that in our times every individual is included in a whole series of systems of interaction or real totalities, with each of which he is bound and as a part influences the fate of the entire totality, i.e., all individuals belonging to it, and vice versa, every real totality of which he is a member influences him, and in one way or another conditions his behavior and experiences.⁴²

This belonging of an individual to a series of systems of interaction represents a complex totality of co-ordinates of that individual, and these co-ordinates place an individual in his social position, or characterize his "social physiognomy." ⁴³ The "old theory" that there is only "one society," with which the older sociologists used to contrast the individual is untenable. ⁴⁴

Thus the entire population consists of a multitude of social groups. To study this multitude of groups, Sorokin selects the basic ones on the principle of efficiency of functional bonds of behavior between individuals. In other words, the most important groups socially are those which have the most intensive and the most extensive influence on the behavior of their members and on the behavior of other groups (their members) — and, through them, on the fate of the entire population, or the course of history in general.

To determine which group has the most influence on the behavior of other groups and the entire population, when the intensity of interaction is held constant, the following characteristics of a group should be investigated: (1) the number of members of the group, (2) the degree of extension of the group, (3) the degree of its solidarity, (4) the degree of its organization, (5) its possession of a technical apparatus influencing the behavior of people. Thus:

The stronger the fact of belonging to a group conditions the behavior of its members, for one thing, and the stronger the entire group influences the behavior of other groups (their members), for another, i.e., the more it is organized, numerous, solidary, and rich in techniques, . . . the greater is its importance in the course of social events and in the history of humanity.⁴⁵

Before applying this criterion to classify groups, Sorokin introduces another criterion for his group classification. He

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⁴² P. 33.

⁴³ P. 34.

⁴⁴ Pp. 15-35.

⁴⁵ P. 53.

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distinguishes: (1) elementary collective unity (or group), (2) cumulative collective unity (or group), (3) complex social aggregate (or population in general). This distinction derives from the fact that individuals have heterogeneous characteristics which produce common interests or bonds. Thus an elementary or simple collective unity is "a real and not fictional totality of persons, united into one interacting whole by some one characteristic, sufficiently clear and definite, non-reducible to other characteristics." 46 A cumulative social group is a "totality of interacting persons bound into one interacting whole not by one, but by two, three, or a series of similar elementary characteristics." 47 A complex social aggregate is "a union of persons embracing two or any greater number of different elementary collective unities, or two or any greater number of different cumulative groups, or both elementary and cumulative collective unities."48

Without an anlaysis of any population into its constituent elementary and cumulative groups, it is impossible to understand its structure and composition. Applying the two criteria to the classification of social groups (the criterion of social importance of groups and the three-fold general distinction of groups based on the number of bonds), we distinguish within a population: (1) the important elementary groups, or the elementary lines of social differentiation, (2) the important cumulative groups or the cumulative lines of social differentiation, and (3) the complex social aggregates.⁴⁰

The Important Elementary Group

An elementary group represents a totality of interacting persons who are similar in some one respect. General observation shows that "some of the elementary characteristics of similarity are neutral and do not evoke social grouping of individuals similar in that respect, whereas others are not neutral but active; similarity in this respect evokes a grouping of individuals into one real whole." ⁵⁰ But which elementary similarities are included in this latter category? Only observation can answer this question, and observation shows that at least in Europe and America, the most important characteristics of individuals evoking social grouping concern race, sex, age, family,

⁴⁶ P. 58,

⁴⁷ P. 58.

⁴⁸ P. 59.

⁴⁹ Pp. 45-61.

⁵⁰ P. 75.

state, language, profession (occupation), wealth possession, the scope of rights of individuals (privileges), territory, religion, political party, some psychological traits, and the less significant characteristics evoking the small and not very important groups. These thirteen different characteristics account for the thirteen most important types of groups.⁵¹

Next Sorokin attempts to view social grouping from the standpoint of freedom of belonging, thereby distinguishing three kinds of groups: (1) closed groups, (2) open groups, and (3) intermediate groups. Closed groups are those in which membership does not depend upon the will of an individual. Such groups can have a varying degree of closedness, but "a free diffusion and circulation of individuals . . . from one closed group to another analogous group is either impossible (circulation from race to race, sex to sex) or is extraordinarily difficult (exchange of citizenship, exchange of family)." 52 A special kind of closed groups is the socially inherited group, for example, a caste. Open groups are those in which membership depends upon an individual's will. Entrance and exit in such groups are rather easy, as, for example, in sports groups. The intermediate category includes all groups which approach closed groups or open groups. The majority of the elementary and cumulative groups belong to this category.53

This distinction of groups "is in a more or less functional (in Pearson's sense) way bound up with the importance of groups." ⁵⁴

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n 1if the most important groupings of individuals in collectivities are, first, those in which membership conditions the experiences and behavior of an individual most decisively, and secondly, those which are the most numerous, the most widespread, the most organized and solidary, then obviously from this viewpoint the most important will be those groupings, those systems of interaction, in which membership is unavoidable for an individual; in other words, those collectivities to which an individual belongs from the moment of his birth and whose influence he cannot avoid no matter how much he would like to.⁵⁵

Finally Sorokin classifies the most important social elementary groups as follows:

⁵¹ Pp. 75-76.

⁵² P. 80.

⁵³ Pp. 79-84.

⁵⁴ P. 83.

⁵⁵ P. 83.

- I. The closed elementary groups:
 - 1. Race groups
 - 2. Sex groups
 - 3. Age groups
- II. The relatively open elementary groups:
 - 1. Political parties
 - 2. A series of groups of psychological (ideological, emotional, volitional) character.

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- III. The intermediate elementary groups:
 - 1. Family
 - 2. State
 - 3. Language groups
 - 4. Professional groups
 - 5. Wealth groups
 - 6. Territorial groups
 - 7. Religious groups
 - 8. Privilege ("scope of rights") groups

Sorokin describes each group separately. Human life is a constant circulation of individuals among the different groups to which they belong, and human history is an interaction among the myriad of such groups, socially more or less important.⁵⁰

The Important Cumulative Groups (Multibonded)

A cumulative group exists when the same individuals are members not only of the same religion, for example, but also subjects of the same state, members of the same profession, the same party, etc. Hence out of a number of elementary groups we have a cumulative religious + state + professional + party group. In this way the total population is differentiated not only according to the lines of elementary groups but by the lines of cumulative groups also.⁵⁷ Sorokin's classification of cumulative groups respects (1) the number of involved elementary groups, (2) their character, and (3) the manner of their cumulation.

According to the number of elementary groups, cumulative groups can be double, triple, quadruple, etc.; e.g., a religion + state group, or a racial + language + religious group.

According to the character of elementary groups, the double or triple, etc., cumulative groups can appear in a variety of different forms, as for example, religious + language groups,

⁵⁶ Pp. 84-236.

or territorial + language + religious groups, etc. The different kinds of elementary groups produce different kinds of cumulative groups; here Sorokin continuously finds parallels with the combinations of chemical elements into different compounds.⁵⁸

According to the manner of their cumulation, cumulative groups can be (1) closed, open and intermediate, (2) solidary, antagonistic and neutral, (3) normal and abnormal, (4) typical and non-typical. Closed cumulative groups are illustrated by groups in which membership of the parents involves membership of their children, as in castes. In open groups the free circulation of members is often limited in practice.

In a solidary cumulation of elementary groups, they give to their members imperatives of behavior which are in agreement with one another and which push them in one direction. In an antagonistic cumulation on the other hand, the imperatives of conduct given by the cumulating groups contradict one another. In a neutral cumulation, these imperatives are neither solidary nor antagonistic, but lie in different spheres which do not overlap, as exemplified by the expression "give to Caesar the things that are Caesar's and to God the things that are God's." The durability or firmness of a given cumulative group depends not on the number of its elementary groups, but on the character of their cumulation. The more solidary the cumulation of elementary groups, the firmer the cumulative group itself. 50

Some chemical elements combine readily to form compounds, whereas others do not combine at all; similarly, some elementary groups mutually attract each other and form durable cumulations, whereas other elementary groups repel one another and hence rarely form durable cumulations. The first type of cumulative groups is called normal; the latter, abnormal. The "privilege" (scope of rights) elementary grouping seems to combine exceedingly easily with quite a number of other elementary groups, with state, wealth, race, language groups, religious groups, family, professional groups, sex groups, age groups, parties, and others. Sex and age groups cumulate with privilege groups and professional groups, but not with state, racial, language, territorial, religious, and other groups. The state groups cumulate easily with privilege, religious, territorial, racial groups. Racial groups normally cumulate with privilege groups, state, language, territorial, religious, and other groups. Similar-

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ly, all other elementary groups (language, religious, professional, territorial, wealth, political party groups) have a number of other groups with which they seem to cumulate readily, and another number with which they do not combine. Examples of abnormal cumulation occurred when in the eighteenth century the French privileged class became poor, whereas the increasingly rich class lacked many privileges; since these two cumulations were abnormal, a reaction soon occurred and the two groups were dissolved. Such normal and abnormal cumulations appear also in triple and quadruple combinations of elementary groups, but Sorokin points out that there is no need to enumerate them all.⁶⁰

The final division of cumulative groups, according to their manner of cumulation, includes cumulations typical and atypical to different epochs and places. Thus state + religious groups were common in the Middle Ages, but they are not common now. Castes which are nothing but solidary, closed, cumulative groups, are very important in India, but not in the Western world. The cumulative groups typical for the Western world in our times are state + territorial + language groups; or professional + party groups. 61

This conceptualization of social groups prompts Sorokin to consider nationality and social class. Contrary to different philosophies and theories, "observation shows that . . . by the term 'nationality' are designated social groups of different composition." 62 Thus in one case by "nationality" is called a cumulation of groups A, B, C; in another case, B, D, K, E, etc. Hence "nationality" is a series of different heterogeneous groups typical to a given people. 63

Similarly, a social class is a "cumulative, normal, solidary, semi-closed but almost open, typical group, consisting of a cumulation of three basic groupings: (1) occupation, (2) wealth, and (3) privilege." ⁶⁴ The number of social classes is relative to place and time. ⁶⁵

The Complex Social Aggregates or Population

As stated above, a complex social aggregate is a totality of interacting persons divisible into two or more different elemen-

⁶⁰ Pp. 248-264.

⁶¹ Pp. 264-269.

⁶² P. 281.

⁶³ Pp. 275-283.

⁶⁴ P. 298.

⁶⁵ Pp. 283-306.

tary groups, or two or more cumulative groups, or both elementary and cumulative groups. Thus:

An inhabited territory schematically is like a point of intersection of a number of circles. If each circle would represent an elementary or a cumulative group, then any commonly living population will be like a place where these circles cross and intersect.⁶⁶

As a principium divisionis, Sorokin accepts anatomic-morphological characteristics, i.e., he attempts to classify the complex social aggregates according to their structure. He criticizes all other sociologists who, with the exception of Spencer and Durkheim, failed to make anatomy and morphology the basis of their systematics. Pointing out that without the anatomic-morphological characteristics, any systematics in chemisry or biology is unthinkable, he concludes that "this deductively induces us to suppose that without the characteristics of structure and composition, a systematics of the complex social aggregates would not be successful. Let us assume this supposition hypothetically." 67

The anatomic-morphological structure of any population as a complex social aggregate

will be defined if we investigate (1) into what elementary groups it breaks up, and what kind of a group is each of them concretely; (2) what cumulative groups are contained in it: (a) double, triple, quadruple, etc., and what is their character specifically; (b) which of them are cumulative-normal and which cumulative-abnormal groups; (c) which of the cumulations are solidary and which are antagonistic; (d) which of them are open and which are closed; (e) which of these cumulations are typical; (f) which of them are the most important.

For a fuller characteristic of an aggregate it is expedient to study the degree of openness or closedness of each group more specifically: (a) how much it is closed or open, (b) how intensive the circulation of individuals from group to group, (c) within what bounds do the volumes of each of the groups fluctuate, and with what speed, (d) whether any of them disappear, and do there appear any new ones;

how great is the speed of such variations.68

The task of the anatomic-morphological systematics consists in classifying the complex social aggregates which are alike according to the character, number, and the manner of combining of the elementary and cumulative groups contained within

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⁶⁶ P. 307.

them. It involves dividing the aggregates into types, which in turn would be divided into sections, and these into classes, classes into kinds, and kinds into specific forms.

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Let us suppose that an investigator has studied, according to the indicated program, 50 complex social aggregates or groups of population. Suppose that out of the investigated 50 aggregates, 25 have the same typical cumulative groups (e.g., caste), and the other 25 likewise possess other same and typical cumulative groups (e.g., a class) among them. In this way the 50 aggregates, according to their typical cumulative groups, break up into two types. For the sake of brevity let us call the first type (the caste type) A, and the second (the class type) A. Now let us carry the analysis further. Suppose that the groups within the type A, according to the number of the typical, now within the bounds of this type A, double, triple, quadruple, etc., cumulations, break up into 3 sections: sections a, into which enter 15 similar (in that respect) aggregates, section a', into which enter 6 aggregates, and section a'', into which enter the remaining 4 aggregates. In this way type A breaks up into three sections: a, a', a". We do the same with the groups of type A₁. Now we analyze the aggregates which enter into the composition of each section, for example, section a of the type A, according to the similarities of the cumulative groups contained within them (double, triple, ... antagonistic, solidary, etc.). Suppose in that respect they break up into two classes: a, embracing 6 out of the 15, and b, embracing the remaining 9 groups. We do the same with section a' and a''. Now we turn to a comparison of groups entering into the composition of class a, according to the number and character of their elementary groupings. Suppose that class a breaks up into two kinds: first and second. We group similar aggregates into the first and the second kinds. The same is done with the classes entering into sections a' and a''. What is left now is the "anatomic" analysis of each of the elementary groups (its character and its contents) and the grouping of the aggregates of one kind into forms. 69

Sorokin admits that this structural taxonomy is a simplified one. When attempts at classification of the complex social aggregates within different populations existing throughout the world and throughout history will be made a sufficient number of times, then, and only then, a construction of a "catalogue" of complex social aggregates and classificatory table can be undertaken. Sorokin adds in a footnote that he has undertaken an

⁶⁹ Pp. 339-340.

investigation of the anatomic-morphological structure of Petersburg.70

Sorokin thinks (1) the classification is necessary, for unlike Spencer's and Durkheim's classifications, it is based on not one but all the characteristics of a group. The suggested systematics is (2) natural, not artificial, since it respects basic characteristics of groups which are not casual, external (as for example, Ward's classification), but are organic, bound inseparably with the nature of the aggregates. (3) Unlike Sutherland's, Wundt's, Steinmetz's and others' classifications, it is clear and definitive. The distinction of elementary groups, their number, character, as well as the number of the cumulative groups — all these are observable phenomena. (4) Being pluralistic in regard to characteristics, the suggested theory of classification is not eclectic, but united and one in its structure. (5) It is scientifically economical from the point of view of its application, for with it, it is easy to analyze upon proper observation any population. (6) Finally, being intact in its pluralism, the suggested program of classification embraces and absorbs into itself all other classifications given until this time, since the latter are based on one or a few of the total characteristics of social groups.71

With this analysis of the complex social aggregates, Sorokin says, we could end our study of social analytics, and turn to social mechanics; however, there are two more problems that should be considered in connection with social analytics. The first is the problem of social regroupings.

The Problem of Social Regroupings

By a social regrouping is meant a change in the structure of the complex social aggregates or populations. This change can take three forms: (1) a shift of individuals from one elementary or cumulative group into another, accompanied by fluctuations in the volume of the two groups, (2) disappearance within a given aggregate of some, or appearance of other, elementary and cumulative groups of a homogeneous character, (3) disappearance of some elementary and cumulative groups and appearance of new heterogenous ones.

From the point of view of the position of individuals in the system of social co-ordinates, the first category of regroupings is a partial inclusion and exclusion of individuals from member-

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ship in the given groups; however, it never leads to the disappearance of groups or the appearance of new ones. Regroupings of the second category, however, involve inclusions and exclusions of individuals from membership that effect the disappearance of some groups or the formation of new homogeneous groups. The regroupings of the third category terminate membership in existing homogeneous groups, and initiate membership (not always) in newly formed heterogenous groups.⁷²

Changes in the structure of the total population take place constantly. But they differ also in each of the three cases. "If we call the structure of a given social aggregate at a given moment t, the structural equilibrium, then the regroupings of the first category, ceteris paribus, will change . . . the structural equilibrium all in all less, regrouping of the second category more, regrouping of the third category, still more." 73

Within elementary groups, the three basic forms of regroupings can be studied, regarding the following questions: (1) do they occur; (2) if all of them, or some of them occur, in what concrete forms do they appear; (3) how intensive are they in respect to the number of persons who are transferred from group to group; (4) how often and how regularly do such regroupings take place; (5) to what extent are the groups inherited and stable; to what extent is their form changed by the process of regroupings? Sorokin gives statistics for each of the thirteen basic elementary groups and concludes that: (1) the structure of any social group is not a statistic but a mobile equilibrium; (2) this mobility is exhibited in (a) circulation of individuals from one group to another, (b) fluctuations of volumes of homogeneous groups, (c) disappearance of some groups and formation of others; (3) mobility varies in different groups of an aggregate according to time and place; (4) the elasticity and the resistance of the different social aggregates is not the same; (5) in aggregates which are more stable, an arrest of the current of circulation disturbs rather strongly the mobile equilibrium of the given aggregate, and hence the process of establishing a new equilibrium (regrouping) is rather irregular, spasmodic, convulsive, and painful. (6) In more elastic aggregates such processes are less sharp, the mobile equilibrium shifts of a social aggregate do not mean any change of its basic skeleton. (7) The most common regroupings are those of the

⁷² P. 347.

first and the second types, hence social reforms and revolutions change not so much the skeleton of a social body as its "clothing." A social aggregate transplanted out of its equilibrium either dies, or having gone through the regroupings of the first and second kinds, tends to come back to its previous condition. Hence any complete social equality of individuals, as is proposed by some thinkers, is impossible, for it would require a destruction of all the lines of elementary and cumulative social differentiation, i.e., a diasappearance of the polymorphism of individuals. This, however, is a question of social mechanics and genetics, not of social analytics.⁷⁴

At this point Sorokin states that he should examine the phenomenon of regrouping within the cumulative groups, but due to a lack of paper he has to omit the entire section, so that he may finish the important final part of his analytics.⁷⁵

The Position of Personality in a System of Social Coordinates

The second problem connected with social analytics is that of the position of personality in a system of social coordinates. The problem consists in defining an individual's ego in terms of the groups to which he belongs. Sorokin gives a number of examples showing that an individual's "ego" is pluralistic; in different situations the "field of consciousness" of an individual is different and in each situation he acts as if a different person.

The outlined multiplicity of the "ego" of one and the same individual, or the mosaicity of his consciousness comes from the fact that the modern man is a member not of one society, but of a number of groups which do not coincide with one another and which do not cover one another. It is an inevitable result of the latter condition.

Since each group gives imperatives of behavior to its members, it "consciously or unconsciously forms in a definite manner the mentality of the individual, modifies his interests, wishes, aspirations, convictions, beliefs, and feelings," and since each individual belongs to a number of different groups, "in one and the same individual, there would be as many different 'egos,' as there are heterogeneous-elementary and cumulative groups, in which he has been and is a member." ⁷⁷ In other words, "the 'soul' of each individual is a small microcosm, which accurately

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⁷⁴ Pp. 353-442.

⁷⁵ P. 441.

⁷⁶ P. 446.

⁷⁷ Pp. 446-447.

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reproduces that social macrocosm — social grouping — among which he has lived. . . . " 78 Consequently, "his behavior, excluding those stimuli which are in him as in an organism, is similar to his 'mosaic soul,' and represents a resultant of the influence and pressure of those groups with which he is bound. Each of us behaves as required by the groups which influence us."79 "In this respect the principles of physical mechanics are fully applicable" 80 With the addition of forces or pressures from groups to which an individual belongs, provided the imperative given by the groups are consistent with one another, the behavior of an individual will be thrust like a ball driven in one direction, exhibiting no ambivalence or hesitation. In the case of pressures from two groups, for example, when the imperatives given by the groups are contradictory, the individual's behavior will follow the direction which is the resultant of the greater of the two forces. Subjectively, the behavior will include ambivalence, "conflict of motives," hesitation, etc. Such behavior might be illogical, but the "logic of human behavior decisively diverges from the logic of reasons," and "Pareto's merit is in proving the thesis that man was and remains an illogical being according to preference." 81 Since each individual belongs to a number of groups, "the resultant direction according to which his behavior will proceed, will be given in the form of the resultant of all those forces . . . derive by way of a complex parallelogram of forces." 82 This is the position of each individual in the system of social coordinates.

It follows that "whenever the place of an individual in a system of coordinates changes, inevitably his 'soul' have to change too, inevitably his behavior changes too." 83 "This is fate from which no one can free himself." 84 It is absurd to talk about the problem of "individual and society," for there is no individual who in reality is outside of society. We may talk about antagonisms between individuals, each of whom enters into the composition of some collective unity; we may talk about antagonisms between groups; but it is improper to talk about antagonisms between the individual and society.85

Sorokin concludes that "after an analysis of the social aggre-

⁷⁸ P. 447.

⁷⁹ P. 448.

⁸⁰ P. 448.

⁸¹ P. 450.

⁸² P. 451.

⁸³ P. 452.

⁸⁴ P. 456.

⁸⁵ P. 458.

gate it has not been difficult for us to analyze its minute projection, the individual." ⁸⁶ For "as previously, we have expressed the group in terms of individuals, so now we have defined the individual in terms of groups; in this way we have elucidated the phenomena from two sides and have closed the circle of phenomena, broken in the beginning, but unbroken in reality." ⁸⁷

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The Parish Studied As A Social System

This article is intended a) in itself as a contribution to parish socioanalysis, and b) as a preparatory exposition of concepts prior to the author's paper at the annual meeting of ACSS in Milwaukee, December 1956.

An attempt to make a study of the Catholic parish scientificially and sociologically deeper than, let us say, demographic analysis, requires the use of the same scientific tool needed in any scientific study: a conceptual scheme, a frame of reference, a mental and lingual instrument for better understanding, analyzing, comparing, and generalizing about facts in social or physical reality. The suggestion is here offered, in expectation of further parish study, that our thinking and speaking about the parish society can profitably revolve around the concept "social system." * Our purpose here is two-fold: to clarify the observed data by organizing and classifying them within an adequate conceptual scheme; and to study the parish in the same way, within the same frame of reference in which any other social organization can be studied. Thus the parish can be brought more readily within the scope of sociological analysis and understanding, and sociological principles can be applied more readily to the parish.

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In his enlightening book, *Science and Common Sense*, Dr. James Conant, former Professor and later President of Harvard, defines science as "an interconnected series of concepts and conceptual schemes that have developed as a result of experimentation and observation and are fruitful of further experimentation and observation." He cites the words of William James, "The intellectual life of man consists almost wholly in his substitution of a conceptual order for the perceptual order in which his experience originally comes," and he himself refers to science as "an activity which increases the adequacy of concepts and conceptual schemes which are related to certain types of perception and which lead to certain types of activities; it is one extension of common sense." ¹

¹ James B. Conant, Science and Common Sense (New Haven: Yale, 1951), pp. 25, 32.

^{*} I am happy to acknowledge that many of the ideas in this article concerning the articulation of the concept "social system" derive from the lectures and writing of Professor Nicholas S. Timasheff of Fordham University.

The following paragraphs draw attention to the importance of scientific conceptualization, and the significance of applying the latter to parish study.

Concern about proper conceptualization is neither idle nor fruitless. Proof for this is seen in the many unsuitable conceptual schemes some scientists have proposed. For example, the "organismic" scheme, in which social life is explained in terms of a biological organism, has been inadequate and misleading. It implies both a deterministic evolutionism and the total absorption of the individual by the whole — obviously a fine theoretical basis for totalitarian ideology and denial of human liberty. More important, it simply does not square with the facts of the individual's partial transcendance over social relationships on the one hand, and his membership in multiple social groupings on the other. For there is something of the person which is not contained in any one group of which he is a member. Professor Parsons dismisses the organismic approach quite summarily, along with a variation of it, bi-social functionalism.2 Other monistic schemes, such as economic and psychological evolutionisms and geographic and racial determinisms, have been no more satisfactory. And the "mechanistic" scheme, which seeks to understand man, society and mankind as an element in astronomical systems, received this critical judgment from Professor Sorokin:

...it is clear that any supernaturalism, any freedom of the will, were expelled from the sociological theories of these social physicists. They viewed all these phenomena as a result of the natural play of natural causes. Their purpose was to study these phenomena as a system of relationship, to measure these relations and to give the results of such a study in the forms of the laws of social mechanics.³

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Nor is this confusion in conceptual schemes limited to more universal theories. Sociologists have trouble finding agreement even in their particular terminology. If words like "democracy" and "socialism," or "conservatism" and "liberalism" have several, sometimes contradictory, meanings in popular usage, sociologists also disagree on such key sociological expressions as "society," "community," "race," "institution," and others.

² A. M. Henderson and Talcott Parsons, Max Weber: The Theory of Social and Economic Organization (New York: Oxford, 1947), p. 19.

 $^{^3}$ Pitirim Sorokin, Contemporary Sociological Theories (New York: Harper, 1928), p. 7.

Most of the confusion in sociological thinking and writing can be traced to misleading conceptual schemes on the universal level and lack of agreement on particular terminology. Hence the importance in parish study of adopting a frame of reference or conceptual scheme which is both clear and compatible with other sociological study.

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Sociologists have represented meaningful union between human beings by such expressions as society, community, association, social system, social group, social order, social organization, social class, and so on. All these expressions are proper enough. But for more precision, writers have tried to differentiate one from the other. Their differentiation did not always help clarity. Of all the expressions just named, only two remain which are sufficiently general and unlimited by an opposing term to be freely applicable to all types of social unions. These two are "social system" and "social group." Of the two "social group" tends to be rather amorphous, not necessarily indicative of much more than people simply being assembled together in some way. "Social system" seems to add clearly the notion of parts forming a whole, of interdependence aiming at achievement of a common goal.4 It is the conceptual framework already utilized in an extensive study of a northern city parish, and within which the analysis was visualized. Further analysis would utilize this framework more expressly and consistently.

As a matter of fact, in recent years sociological writers have been using this concept more extensively.⁵ It has many advantages. It is a key concept in every scientific field: in philosophy

⁴ Logan Wilson and William Kolb, Sociological Analysis (New York: Harcourt-Brace, 1949), p. 843, distinguish between social system and social group. For them social system adds the elements of emotional solidarity, common purpose, a role-defining culture, and means of differentiation from non-members. They likewise speak (p. 344) of communities and societies containing and being comprised of social systems and relations. We would say that such systems are sub-systems, while the societies and communities are themselves systems.

Nicholas Timasheff in "The Basic Concepts of Sociology," American Journal of Sociology, LVIII, No. 2 (September 1952), gives several leading sociologists' definitions of the social group, social system, society, and other fundamental sociological terminology.

⁵ Cf. A. N. Whitehead, quoted in George Homans' *The Human Group* (New York: Harcourt-Brace, 1950), p. 87: "the idea of an organized whole, or system, existing in an environment is 'a fundamental concept which is essential to scientific theory.'"

we speak of Platonic, Aristotelian and Thomistic systems; we have the reproductive, respiratory, and digestive systems in biology; the atomic system in physics; the solar system in astronomy; the Christian system in theology; the Keynesian system of economics; the democratic system of government. We can refer to whole sciences as systems: the system of economic principles, of theology, of law, of medicine, and so on. Thus sociological terminology could conform more helpfully with other scientific terminologies. The point is that various parts of reality or knowledge so fit together that they give to the totality of parts a significance and effectiveness far in excess of the meaning of the sum of the individual parts in themselves. A man dressed in leather helmet, moleskin pants, and heavy cleats might well appear to be a mere oddity; in unison with ten teammates on a football field his significance transcends his own separate appearance.

The same occurs with social phenomena. A store has no meaning without jobbers, merchandise and customers; nor does a teacher without students, nor a marriage law without people of marriageable age. But when we have a plurality of people mutually dependent, interacting in a particular set of circumstances, and co-operating to achieve a certain goal, obviously we have an organization of parts comprising a totality with properties far in excess of the sum of the properties of the parts.

A system is a plurality of parts so interrelated as to form a distinctive whole. A *social system* is a plurality of persons and/or groups of persons so interrelated through interaction and shared attitudes as to form a distinctive social whole with properties superior to those of its members. The latter retain their identity, however, and might well participate in other systems. For example, the same person can be and often is a family man, a parishioner, a lawyer, and a member of an athletic club. In this paper our concern is to discuss the applicability of the concept "social system" to the Catholic parish, and accordingly to consider the characteristics of the parish social system.

The concept was apparently first utilized with any emphasis by the Italian sociologist Vilfredo Pareto (1848–1923), who built his sociological theory around the formulation of society as a system in equilibrium.⁶ Several Harvard professors —

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⁶ Vilfredo Pareto, *Mind and Society*, ed. by Arthur Livingston, trans. by Andres Bongiorno and Arthur Livingston, 4 vol. (New York: Harcourt-Brace, 1935), esp. IV, 2060 ff.

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particularly L. J. Henderson, Talcott Parsons, and George Homans — have tried to make the Pareto theory known in the United States and to explore its implications. The famous Yankee City Series, planned and authored by W. Lloyd Warner and his associates, made use of the concept "system" in analyzing various types of social groups: a system of social classes, each class being itself a sub-system; a system of statuses within each class; the systematized relationships of members within particular ethnic groups, based on sub-systems of residential, class,

⁷ Cf. Lawrence J. Henderson, Pareto's General Sociology: A Physiologist's Interpretation (Cambridge: Harvard, 1935); Talcott Parsons, The Structure of Social Action (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1949), chapters 5 to 7; also Parsons' The Social System (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1951); and George Homans, op. cit.

Parsons, who describes his own work as an attempt to formulate a conceptual scheme for analyzing the structure and processes of social reality (The Social System, pp. vii and 3), has been most prolific in this field. But there is little need for our own purposes of discussing here the Parsonian theory of the social system. He includes it as one of three systems — the system of personality, the system of culture, and the system of society — which comprise his general system of human action. Both his works just cited are important for theoretical insight, but contribute little beyond the less complex development of the rest of this chapter in view of our aims.

Homans' The Human Group, which Robert Merton praised as a great contribution to sociological theory, constructs a most practical and fruitful methodological framework for studying the small group. Homans decided to study the small group because it was evident how erroneous was so much sociological theorizing about society as a whole. He decided to return to rock bottom, analyze some small societies which he could observe and come to know with some degree of thoroughness, and construct some theories applicable at least to them. Later they could be tested on other, perhaps larger, groups. Unquestionably he achieved some success, and his method should have some validity for parish study. The five groups, or systems of social relationship, which he studied, included: the workers in a bank wiring observation room (taken from the famous Hawthorne researches), a neighborhood gang (taken from Whyte's Street Corner Society), a primitive kinship society (taken from Firth's Polynesian studies), a rural New England community, and an electrical equipment company. Each of these groups is set in the framework of Homans' analysis: the activities in which the members are engaged, the interaction which these activities involve, the sentiments of the members which derive from this interaction. The relationship of these factors is then noted in reverse: the influence of sentiments on interaction, of interaction on activity. These research observations enable Homans to derive some elemental theories: that a change in scheme of activity or interaction correlates with a change in the other; that a decrease in interaction between members of a group and outsiders correlates with increased interaction with fellow-members of the group; in other words, relationships between persons are influenced by these persons' respective relationships with still other persons. These theories can be seen as at least very possibly applicable to parish life, too.

occupational, educational, and other patterns; and even a particular factory as a system.⁸

The widely used textbook Sociological Analysis by Wilson and Kolb makes several references to the social system: as a basic unit in sociological analysis, as seen in husband-wife and family relationships, as also in such social organizations as an industrial plant and a college community. Industry is frequently described as a social system. The late Professor Schumpeter, an economist with sharp sociological insight, used the system concept to great advantage. Another noted contemporary sociologist who has developed the theory of social system very carefully is Professor Nicholas S. Timasheff. 12

The most practically developed explanation and use of social system in published form is found in Loomis and Beegle's Rural

Social Systems. 13 To use the authors own words, they

... believe that such an organization (i.e., around social systems) supplies an approach more adequate than others in meeting the demands of science, especially in regard to prediction, understanding and control. Furthermore we feel that the social system approach is superior to many frames of reference which employ abstract terms pertaining to less functional entities. This approach, the authors feel, is particularly applicable to administrators who have specific roles in concrete social systems and to those engaged in modern group work.¹⁴

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⁸ W. Lloyd Warner and others, The Yankee City Series (New Haven: Yale, 1941 et postea).

⁹ Wilson and Kolb, op. cit., pp. 263, 285-6, 684-5, 687-96, and 290-302. ¹⁰ Another author who applies the concept social system to industrial organization is Wilbert Moore in his *Industrial Relations and the Social Order* (New York: Macmillan, 1951), which emphasizes the need for coordination of the system's functions with its ends and values, p. 199.

¹¹ Cf. Joseph Schumpeter, History of Economic Analysis (New York: Oxford, 1954), p. 29.

¹² Professor Timasheff's book, Sociology: An Introduction to Sociological Analysis (Milwaukee: Bruce, 1929), contains little mention of social system, though his study of the group fits well into system. More important has been his course of lectures (in the Fordham University Graduate School) built entirely around the concept of the social system, Much of our own analysis was built around the concept of the social system, and has derived largely from his ideas. Most recently Timasheff's Sociological Theory: Its Nature and Growth (New York: Doubleday, 1955) has given some published expressions to his thought — see especially pp. 37, 94 and 294.

 $^{^{\}rm 13}$ Charles P. Loomis and J. Allan Beegle, Rural Social Systems (New York; Prentice-Hall, 1950).

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 3.

In their definition of social system, they add another aspect of its importance:

Social systems are organizations composed of persons who interact more with members than with non-members when operating to attain the system's objectives. All social systems, whether small silo-filling rings or large farmers' organizations such as the Farm Bureau, have elements in common which the social scientist, educator and administrator must consider if he is to understand them. The elements of both social structure and value orientation (ends, objectives, norms), of course, are so inextricably interrelated that any classification that separates them will be somewhat unrealistic.¹⁵

Practically the same words might be used to indicate the value to the priest-administrator or parochial leader of studying the parish as a social system. In analyzing the parochial society for which he is responsible, he could compare strong and weak factors in his own system with similar factors in other systems — whether parochial or not — and probably find some practical indications.

II

What then is a social system? What are its elements? How can a Catholic city parish be understood as a social system? After answering the first two questions we shall proceed to an application to the parish¹⁶

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As a result of such systematic comparative analysis, the sociologist can understand and evaluate one system's weakness in terms of the other system's strength, and in both diagnosis and prognosis act accordingly. Precisely here can the sociologist be of practical value to the pastor and pastoral leader.

16 For most of the ideas pertaining here to the structure of the social

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 33. As does Homans, op. cit., Loomis and Beegle develop a series of comparisons between different social systems: a religious farm family, a labor group, and a government bureau. The norms of comparison, particularly valuable tools for sociological analysis, are those elements of social structure and value orientation which all social systems must have, and variations which differentiate one type of system from another. Loomis and Beegle do not separate these variations into classes, but rather place them on the extremes of a continuum, thus enabling us to compare juxtaposed systems more readily and accurately. An example is seen in the contrast between the community type (Sorokin's familistic and Tönnies' Gesellschaft type). Thus the familistic-Gemeinschaft-community type of system would be expected to manifest such characteristics of non-rationality and non-accessibility, functional diffuseness in roles, authority patterns, norms and ends, shared reactions to most events, and a required integration of roles both within and out of the system. On the other extreme the contractual-Gesellschaft-associational type would be rather rational, functionally specific, and so on (pp. 10-29).

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Without bothering for a moment with the abstract definition of social system as stated above, let us look at a simple example of human beings joining in common action. A man approaches a newsstand, places a nickel in the hand of the custodian, receives in return a copy of the morning newspaper, perhaps exchanges a greeting, and departs. The same event occurs each day, with the same persons as the actors. If we analyze this recurring event, we see that each of the actors, in performing his own action, is interacting with the other. This interaction is carried on for a purpose, namely, the exchange of an object of worth for a coin in accordance with the needs of each person. This constant interaction implies a relationship between them in which each expects the other to act in expected and accustomed fashion, in other words, to play his role; each accepts the other's position, whether as customer or vendor. Each realizes that he is protected, let us say, from any fraudulence of the other by social rules to which both are subject. In addition to the attitude of co-operation in the exchange of goods, there might be the attitude of friendliness expressed in greeting or passing conversation. Bound together by this relationship, there can be a reluctance on the part of the customer to buy his paper from anyone else, and a willingness of the vendor to save a paper for the customer although he might sell it more quickly to another prospective buyer. Perhaps the location of the newsstand was the original reason why the vendor started his business and perhaps why the customer first bought his paper there. At any rate, it is the place where their daily interaction occurs.

Or take a school. Teachers teach, administrators govern, and students listen, study and learn. Their respective actions involve them in recurrent interaction for the purpose of imparting or gaining knowledge. Certain personal and social needs are being satisfied by the functioning of this relationship. Each member of this relationship — whether teacher, student, or administrator — has a certain position or status with definite rights and duties deriving therefrom; each has a certain role to play, an expected way of acting in accordance with established norms whether officially or otherwise imposed. Their relationship, insofar as it pertains to the functioning of the school.

system the writer is indebted to the authors thus far cited, particularly to the authors of Rural Social Systems and The Human Group, and Professor Timasheff.

is exclusively their own; as is their school, the place where their relationship is centrally operative.

So it is with any social system, large or small, including the parish. It consists of a plurality of human beings, purposeful by nature, acting or disposed to act jointly, therefore interacting, in a common aim. Their unity is reality which transcends even the additive totality of all of them as parts; for outside of the mutual meaningful dependence and functional interdependence which forms their collective unity, their respective individual personalities, talents, and actions are incapable of the functioning which is possible in concert. This is as true of a government, or factory, or ball team, or parish, as it is in the physical order, of a television set or a railroad network. The distinctive feature of a social system, as distinct from any other kind of system, is of course that it is comprised of human beings. The human being is not completely absorbed in any social system: he retains his identity and individuality; he can enter into relationships of at least some other social systems simultaneously.¹⁷ A parishioner, for example, is usually also a member of a family, a citizen, related with an economic association, and so on.

What are the bonds of these relationships of union? They might result from selective affinity, utilitarian choice, or even coercion. Common action implies not only mutual purposes or values, but also a norm of conduct to be observed in achieving those purposes. Naturally, there must be a place, a *locus*, in which the system functions; the system must be compatible with the limitation, or advantages, e.g., space requirements, of the *locus*.

The following list might make clear the elements in the social system, and it might be compared with the diagram on the following page (Figure 1.):

- 1. Plurality of human beings
- Repeatedly performing certain actions, or being disposed to perform them,
- 3. In concert, thus engaging in interaction
- 4. With such frequency as implies continuity
- 5. For a purpose, the raison d'être of the interaction
- 6. Implying certain values, whether of the individual persons or the collectivity

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¹⁷ Cf. Robert M. MacIver and Charles H. Page, Society: An Introductory Analysis (New York: Rinehart, 1949), p. 49: also Rev. John F. Cox, A Thomistic Analysis of the Social Order (Washington: Catholic University Press, 1943), pp. 107-8.

7. Achieved through functioning for the satisfaction of needs

8. Thus involving norms of conduct.

9. A relationship is the static phase of this functioning interaction

10. Including roles and statuses

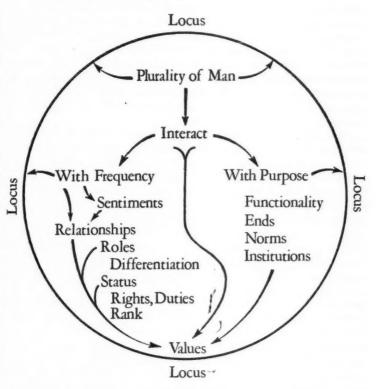
11. Also attitudes, especially of attraction or repulsion.

12. And not least: place.

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A few further words of explanation might be helpful concerning these elements of the social system. The appositive phrase "or disposed to act" in the third paragraph above was included because the social relationship, the static phase of the functioning system, does not cease when the system is not in actual operation. Members of a family are still related to each other, still disposed to familiar interaction, even when they are

separated or asleep. Otherwise we would have a social system only when it was in operation, and a brand new system whenever it started to operate again — to use an absurd example, a new family system after every night's sleep. This should seem obvious as Loomis and Beegle explain it, but some authors have missed it, such as Homans and Sorokin.¹⁸

The action and interaction whose recurrence is so fundamental an element in the functioning of the social system can themselves be scientifically analyzed: in the persons who perform them, the attitudes which accompany them, the effect they have on the social distance between the acting persons. As Homans pointed out, increased interaction between the acting persons correlates with a decrease in interaction between members of the group and outsiders. This could have a most obvious application in efforts to build up the solidarity of a group — including a parish community.

The purpose, ends, and values for which a system functions are of a system's very constitution. They comprise the raison d'être, the final cause of the system's existence, and the bond of utility which ties the members together. What are they? In general, as Loomis and Beegle put it, they are "the changes (or perhaps the maintenance of the status quo) which members of the system expect to accomplish through operation of the system." 19 A value might be called that which attracts (positive) or repels (negative). The values of either individuals or the collectivity, or both, might be the aim of the system in its operation. To achieve these values every social system has either officially expressed or commonly accepted, or both, a set of norms or rules which express the expected behavior of the system's members in their common effort. Conformity with these norms is rewarded, at least by social esteem; and nonconformity is punished in some form. One fruitful way of studying a social system is to determine to what extent behavior conforms to norms, to what extent norms have themselves changed in the situation of changing social goals or rebellious behavior.

A system functions for the satisfaction of needs. If the needs are continuous, then the system must itself be enduring, unless it fails. These needs might themselves be studied as integral

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Homans, op. cit., p. 84; Loomis and Beegle, op. cit., pp. 3-4, 787;
 Pitirim Sorokin, Society, Culture and Personality (New York: Harper, 1947), p. 40.
 Loomis and Beegle, op. cit., p. 5.

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to the social system. They might be biological, economic, psychosocial, recreational, religious, etc., and insofar as a social system satisfies them it contributes to the functioning of the total social order and serves as a bearer of society's culture.

If recurrent interaction is the fundamental element of a social system's functioning, the derivative relationships are basic to its structure. So a parish analysis would involve studying it in its functioning (what it does), and in its structure (what it is). Professor Timasheff designates these two aspects of the same social reality as the kinetic (functioning) and static (structural) isotopes of what we are calling the social system.²⁰ This relationship, or connection between members of a social system, or between members and the system itself, can itself be analyzed, as can any of the elements of the social system. It might be strengthened or weakened through emphasizing or obscuring certain values which prompt interaction, or through observance or non-observance of the system's norms of conduct. An example of the former could be increased emphasis on lay participation in parochial life, or an example of the latter, recall those parishioners who do participate more fully in such activity.

Relationship in the system implies that the related members each have their respective position or status or rank. Whether an officially designated captain in the army or the unofficial but socially accepted leader of a sewing circle, a person invested with the status of leadership receives a certain ranking of preëminence and is expected to conform to the group's or other members' expectations (norms) of leadership. Accordingly, he has certain authority, certain rights and duties necessary for the effective performance of his role. Role has been called the dynamic aspect of status: the latter refers more to position; the former, more to action.21 Status and role do not belong only to the leader; followers too have a quite necessary position in the social system, roles to play which are essential to the system's functioning. The leader can be no better than his followers let him be. And the social system might question whether merely passive roles of its followers are most conducive to its effective functioning. In this connection Peter Drucker in The Future of Industrial Man observes:

20 Timasheff, "The Basic Concepts of Sociology," loc. cit., p. 178.

²¹ Joseph H. Fichter, Social Relations in the Urban Parish (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1954), p. 109.

No society can function as a society unless it gives the individual member status and function, . . . (which) establishes the basic frame of social life. . . . If the individual is not given social status and function, there can be no society but only a mass of social atoms flying through space without aim or purpose.²²

All of these elements of the social system, and the entire system itself, have their existence in a certain place. This accounts for the necessary exclusiveness of the relationships within the system, makes interaction possible, distinguishes the system from other similar ones, and ties the members together at least with the bond of proximity. It might also unite them in a common defense against the rigors of the environment, or in a common disposition to a certain type of economic, political or social life. A seaside location will not dispose fishermen to investigate mountain climbing or coal mining. Distant isolation does not prompt ready communication with urban centers. On the other hand, urban location tends to multiply relationships in different systems rather than strengthening them in an exclusive few. The mannerisms, cut of one's clothes, interest in one's neighbors (all governed by social norms) vary considerably in a metropolitan business house from those in a summer resort general store. Any parish study will show the impact of its ecological setting on some phases of its social structure and functioning.

A valuable feature of the social system, thus analyzed into its component parts, is that it and its elements can be readily studied, even measured and compared — though comparison in social matters must usually be qualified more broadly than in physical studies. The expression "ceteris paribus" has a particular relevance to social science. However, the closeness, or effectiveness, or exclusiveness of a system's interaction and relationships can be measured. The purposes for which the system exists can be tested for their meaningfulness and validity in the minds of its members. The distribution of roles in one social system can be compared with that in another similar one for example, of laymen, or lay leaders, or college graduates in two fairly similar parishes. Incidentally, such analysis of the social system and its elements can be of inestimable value for the leaders themselves in the face of social change, as Homans has explained so significantly.23

²² Quoted by Homans, op. cit., p. 47.

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The use of the concept "social system" in parish study should profit sociological theory and encourage its use as a tool of sociological analysis — both general and, in particular, for parish study. The sociologist should be able to see the Catholic parish as a social system, an organization of parts comprising a whole which far transcends those parts. For the parish is more than a few men who are priests, and many people who are laity, and a building which is a church, and rites, and norms and values, and interactive functioning, and a geographical area. It is all these and more: it is the functioning totality which gives its own value to the operations of its parts. One man's placing a wheaten wafer on another person's tongue can be merely a social oddity. When an ordained priests places the consecrated Host on the parishioner's tongue, one of the parish's most sacred values is realized. Each aspect of this social system concept can be sought and found in the parish by the sociologist. He can make a study of the roles and statuses of its individual members and sub-groupings. He can investigate its system of values, analyze the connection between functions, norms and values. He can study the impact of place on the parish's functioning, noting the variations among parishes because of difference in place, and the variations of social participation within the parish for the same reason. He can observe the individual member freely participating in other systems without detriment to the parish system, thus verifying the principle that although the total system transcends its parts, it does not completely absorb them. In short, the sociologist can number the parish among the social forms which can be included in the conceptualization of social system; and he can test on the parish hypotheses drawn from the study of other social systems.

The parish analyst too can find this conceptualization a handy tool. His parish is a system, comprised of parts organized to fit the system's purposes. To improve the system there is usually required an improvement either in the parts themselves or their organization. How consonant with his parish's aims, personnel, and facilities are the parish boundaries? How helpful are other ecological factors? Is there an occupational, educational, or other cultural *milieu* to which the parishioners are attached and which obstructs or favors communication of parish values? Can spiritual interaction be fostered by auxiliary services? Which ones, in view of the parishioners' social orientations? Is

the priest playing his businessman's role, in the need for building a parish school, so vigorously that his roles of father, mediator, counselor and friend are overshadowed? That happens not seldom. If status and role are essential for social participation, what system of statuses and roles can be constructed that the parish laity attain them and utilize them to achieve parish purposes? Are the parish functions themselves such that the auxiliary are taking precedence over the primary?

We have seen that parishes in different situations — urban or rural, business or residential, territorial or national, young or long established — can be expected to manifest different expressions of the relationships to be found in any parish. All parishes have priest, people, church and territory, and all serve the primary aim of administering to the spiritual needs of their members. This ministration includes certain functions and services — sometimes more, sometimes less; sometimes exclusively spiritual, sometimes including many of a material or mixed nature. The priests and people are related to each other, but their relationship can range from the purely formal, passing and functional, to the primary, constant and communal. Given the existing facts of these functionings and relationships, their extent and characteristics, the question before the pastor and those sharing with him the responsibility for the parish system's effective functioning is simply this: in view of the parish aims. are these elements of the system as they should be? In view of the situation within which the parish is, what change, if needed, can be effectuated? Is the communal type of parish the ideal? Even if it is the ideal (which might be questioned from some aspects), can it be achieved in a populous, religiously mixed, urban environment? Might the answer lie in an attempt to introduce more communal-like elements to a structure which must remain, at least to a large extent, associational?

Answers to all of these questions can well be sought within the conceptual framework of the social system, and the latter can itself help to systematize one's attempt to analyze the parish.

IV

It remains but to suggest, by way of example, the inclusion of some parish matters under the categories of the elements of the social system:

1. Plurality of human beings — the demographic element: Vital statistics:

Population — of all within the parish boundaries, of all Catholics, of all registered parishioners;

Proportion of priests to people — on each of above three levels;

Age and sex composition — its significance;

Birth, marriage and death rates — implication of time spent in wakes and funerals, baptisms, marriage preparations and weddings;

Backgrounds and qualities — their significance:

National and/or racial origin.

Education — Catholic, non-Catholic.

Occupation — in or out of parish, economic status.

Level of religious practice:

The Fichter categories: nuclear, modal, marginal, dormant.

The Schnepp categories: ideal, average, lax, lapsed.

Correlation of each of above categories and characteristics with each other.

2. Place and physical environment — the ecological element:

The parish boundaries - natural or artificial?

A help or hindrance to administration?

A help or hindrance to community solidarity?

Border crossings? Neighbors belonging to different parishes?

Too much territory? or too little?

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Topography

Hills? Parks? Other natural assets, obstacles?

Land use:

Main thoroughfares, other channels of communication; Traffic barriers? Transportation facilities?

Types of housing, and geographical patterns thereof: Walk-ups, apartments? private dwellings? slums?

Industry and commerce:

Shopping centers — influence on religious services; Type and quantity of traffic — impact on youth recreation.

Educational and other cultural establishments: Opportunity for mutual co-operation; Availability of respective facilities, services? Movies, various recreational facilities seen as assets or liabilities?

Hospitals, prisons, other public services:

Drains on parish priests' time and energy in nonparochial work?

Opportunity for lay help, apostolic contribution?

The Parish Plant: Church, School, Rectory, etc.:

Adequate for number of communicants? both those practicing and those who should be practicing?

Qualitatively satisfying and helpful? — architecture, paintings, etc.

3. Repeated action and interaction:

Provision of parish services: Mass, Sacraments, Instructing, Spiritual and Corporal works of mercy.

Use of parish services:

Directly religious.

Parish absorption and integration of natural community functions, e.g., recreation.

Frequency of such interaction.

Quality of such interaction:

Degree of internal conviction.

Conformity between external comportment and norms.

Specific analysis of each of above in terms of parish's purpose (cf. *infra*).

 Purpose of such interaction — the reasons for the parish's existence;

The system of parish ("Church in miniature") values:

Implicated ends, norms, institutions. Living the *two* great commandments.

(Note pertinence to, perhaps inadequacy of, categories of religious practice, *ut supra*.)

Living the faith and religion:

Knowledge and acceptance of the creed — all religious truth.

Observance of the code — the commandments, canons, etc.

(Note items in social morality, e.g., *in re* race, industrial relations, Sunday observance, courtship and marriage patterns)

Practice of *cult* — Mass, Sacraments, other liturgy. Realization of *communion* — love and solidarity of Christian community.

Growth in Christian perfection — knowledge and practice.

Personal holiness and community Christianization. Community happiness and holiness.

Apostolic interest in, impact on, civic community and its institutions.

Estimate of extent to which such values are being realized in the parish.

5. Relationships defined and/or connoted by such interaction: Roles and statuses:

> Recognition of need, both psychological and sociological, for having same.

Priests and people:

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Primary and secondary roles of priest. Fichter's list of 16 observed modern roles.

Exercise of such roles by the priest:

Proper coördination and subordination of roles according to parish values? Definition by authority?

Attitude of domination or co-operation?

Primary and secondary roles of the people: Mere passivity, or active social co-operation? Played by the consistent few, or by the widespread many?

Priests with each other. People with each other.

Parish societies:

Adequate — in type, number, and membership — for parish purposes? Wedded to antiquated formalism, or aware of modern

circumstances?

Opportunity for lay initiative and responsibility? Utilization of the better trained: what of the college graduate?

In view of estimate of achievement of purposes, as above, is there need to reform system of roles and statuses prevailing in a particular parish, or conserve and strengthen same?

Obviously this list is capable of almost indefinite extension. From what has been included, however, it should be obvious how pertinent and potentially useful the tools of sociological analysis — and particularly when organized around the "social system" concept — are for parish study, on both the academic or theoretical and also the empirical and practical level.

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Some Characteristics of Cana Conference Personnel in Chicago

Americans have been frequently characterized as "a nation of joiners." Students of the social system tell us that voluntary associations permeate every aspect of our society. In fiction, we see Sinclair Lewis' middle-class Babbitt and John Marquand's "Boston Brahmins" displaying equal tendencies to be "joiners." Since the time of Simmel, sociologists have stressed the relationship between urbanization and the proliferation of voluntary associations. However, there is increasing evidence to show that participation in formally organized associations is not uniformly distributed throughout the various strata of society. Indeed, to the extent that the growth of these associations indicates the gradual displacement of "primary" by "secondary" groups under the impact of urbanization, we must conclude that this process affects the middle- and upper-class strata considerably more than the lower.

More pertinent for present purposes is Mannheim's observation that in modern society, associations tend to be increasingly deliberate and specific. They are formed in response to definite needs, and they are organized to advance clearly specified interests. Mannheim feels that this is necessary, "for, of the

² W. Lloyd Warner, American Life: Dream and Reality (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1953), pp. 191-209.

³ Nicholas J. Spykman, The Social Theory of Georg Simmel (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1925), pp. 191-92; Louis Wirth, "Urbanism as a Way of Life," American Journal of Sociology, 44 (July 1938), 1-24.

⁴ Robert S. and Helen M. Lynd, Middletown (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1929); W. Lloyd Warner and Paul S. Lunt, The Social Life of a Modern Community (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1941); W. Lloyd Warner and Associates, Democracy in Jonesville (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1949), pp. 115-29; Mirra Komarovsky, "The Voluntary Associations of Urban Dwellers," American Sociological Review, 11 (December 1946), 686-98; Floyd Dotson, "Patterns of Voluntary Association Among Urban Working-Class Families," American Sociological Review, 16 (October 1951), 687-93; Walter T. Martin, "A Consideration of Differences in the Extent and Location of the Formal Associational Activities of Rural-Urban Fringe Residents," American Sociological Review, 17 (December 1952), 687-94.

¹ See the excerpt from Charles W. Ferguson's Fifty Million Brothers in An Introduction To Social Science, ed. by Arthur Naftalin, et al. (Chicago: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1953), Bk. III, pp. 107-09.

achievements of modern mass society only those can endure which are sponsored by definite organizations." 5 This follows from the fact that in our modern, rapidly changing, pluralistic society, characterized by vast numbers possessing wide differences of background and opinion, the traditional, spontaneous groupings of the past no longer serve to protect the manifold interests of the individual. As a member of a complex society, modern man plays many clearly differentiated roles such as worker, consumer, taxpayer, home owner, and so on, and must form specific organizations to protect his interests in these areas. Likewise, as a member of a pluralistic culture, he may cherish specific standards and values not held by "outgroup" members. and if these values are threatened, he must form specific associations to promote them. Modern society is held together by few shared understandings, beliefs, and practices. It tends more and more to represent huge, impersonal aggregations of individuals. seeking through deliberate and calculated associations to realize their specific interests.

Under these conditions, the members of a religious minority will be involved in a wide variety of interest groupings. In particular, a religious minority such as the Roman Catholic, which tends to cut across social class strata, will include members associated with varied and, at times, opposed interest groups. This follows from the prevalent pattern of association in contemporary society. At the same time, all Catholics, as members of a religious minority, share a common set of religious values and

interests which they are bound to promote.

When religious values are threatened, what members of the Catholic minority join formally organized voluntary associations to protect them? At present, we have little information concerning the membership of such associations. In this paper, we shall present our findings on the active membership of one association organized to promote the interests of the Catholic family. This is the Cana Conference of Chicago. Before discussing our findings, it may be well to offer a brief description of the family movement of which the Chicago Conference forms a part.

The Cana Conference represents one of our major contemporary family movements. The conference is an all-day or half-day meeting of married couples at which the various means of making marriage and family life a success are developed and

⁵Karl Mannheim, Man and Society (New York; Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1940), p. 134.

discussed under the guidance of a trained director. The conferences generally cover the basic principles of family life, the sacramental nature of marriage, the statuses and roles of husband and wife, the physical, psychological, and spiritual characteristics of family relationships, parent education, domestic economics, and various other related subjects.⁶

Since its origin in the early forties, the movement has been broadened to include several additional programs. Most important among these has been the attempt to prepare young people for Catholic family life in the modern world. For example, the Pre-Cana conference, consisting of three or four conferences given on several different days by skilled directors from pertinent backgrounds, aims at the immediate preparation for marriage of engaged couples. More remote preparation is offered to young people through lectures on courtship and marriage. These lectures are generally offered each year during the six Sundays of Lent although other occasions may be used.

At present, Cana programs exist in over ninety dioceses of the United States. There are no national headquarters for the movement, and its specific programs are all organized on a diocesan basis. The Cana Conference of Chicago has been particularly active. During the ten-year period, 1944-1954, it listed the following achievements: 23,250 married couples attended Cana conferences: 22.940 engaged couples attended the Pre-Cana series: 12.420 young people attended "Courtship and Marriage" lectures given during the six Sundays in Lent. By 1954, there was a staff of 25 priests, 41 doctors, and 46 married couples giving the Pre-Cana Conferences, and an additional 25 couples were working in organization and in areas of planning. Thirty-three priests were engaged in conducting Cana conferences, and 24 couples worked at the parish level in organizing these days. The Chicago Conference has continued to grow rapidly since these figures were published, but they give us a rough estimate of the work being accomplished.

Who are the people who lend their time and energy to the promotion of this Conference? Although our information has rather obvious limitations, we present our findings in the hope that they will stimulate more adequate studies of the character-

⁶ John L. Thomas, The American Catholic Family (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1956), pp. 420-27.

⁷ Alphonse H. Clemens, The Cana Movement in the United States (Washington: The Catholic University of America Press, 1953).

istics of those who engage in such voluntary associations. We have seen that Americans are considered to be a "race of joiners." We have presented some indications that not all display the same tendency to participate in such groups. At the same time, the threat to Catholic family standards is such that some members of the Catholic Minority have come to recognize the need for specific associations to protect and promote their special interests in this regard. What do we know about these people?

Our information was gained through questionnaires sent out in March 1955, to the approximately 200 couples actively engaged in promoting Cana work in Chicago at that time. Completed questionnaires were returned by 109 couples. The information presented in the following tables is based on the data gathered from these 109 completed returns. Our findings throw some light on the type of couple attracted to active participation in contemporary Catholic social movements, but a much more searching study would be required to reveal the specific traits which distinguish what might be termed active from passive couples among the Catholic laity. Furthermore, the lack of adequate knowledge concerning the pertinent characteristics of the general Catholic population in the Chicago area renders any generalizations on the basis of the present data somewhat hazardous.

Approximately one-fourth of those who filled out the questionnaires were doctors and their wives. This group was engaged primarily in giving pre-Cana talks. Since the doctor's pre-Cana talk can be given only by a professionally trained expert, the relatively high percentage of doctors in the total group can be explained on this basis. In other words, it cannot be assumed from their relatively high representation in this movement that doctors, as such, are more inclined to engage in Catholic social action than others. Inasmuch as they represent a functionally selected group in Cana personnel, it has been considered most useful for present purposes to treat them as a separate category in the discussion which follows.

Americans are traditionally a mobile people. Apparently, neither the disappearance of the frontier nor the shortage of housing is making them "stay put." Table I shows that roughly fifty per cent of the couples had resided in their present parish for less than five years. Since marriage is generally a stage which involves establishing a new residence, the data further suggest that we are dealing with couples who have been married a rela-

TABLE I LENGTH OF RESIDENCE IN PARISH

Length	Doc	Doctors		Others	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	
Under 5 year	13	48.1	48	58.5	
Over 5 years	14	51.9	34	41.5	
Total	27	100.0	82	100.0	

tively short time. On the other hand, there is the possibility that extra-parochial activities such as Cana tend to attract highly mobile couples.

In the words of the poet Whitman, "America is a nation of nations." The Catholic Church in particular has grown rapidly in the past through the steady influx of Catholic immigrants. The process of acculturation has proceeded more or less rapidly among the ethnics of European origin and their descendants, and it is of some interest to know to what extent they are participating in Catholic social movements. Table II presents the ethnic origin of the couples according to the major national groups. Since a considerable number of the respondents came from mixed ethnic backgrounds, it was felt that the best over-all view of the data could be given by counting the number of times that each ethnic group was represented in the parentage of the

TABLE II ETHNIC ORIGIN OF COUPLES

National Group of Husband				
	Doctors		Others	
(One or both parents)	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Irish	17	51.5	56	54.9
German	8	24.2	19	18.6
Polish	1	3.0	8	7.8
Italian	1	3.0	3	3.0
Other	6	18.2	16	15.7
Total	33	99.9	102	100.0
National Group of Wife				
(One or both parents)				
Irish	16	47.1	60	54.1
German	12	35.3	24	21.6
Polish	3	5.8	4	3.6
Italian	0	0.0	3	2.7
Other	4	11.8	20	18.0
Total	35	100.0	111	100.0

couples. The table indicates the predominance of Irish and German ancestry in the group. This obvious over-representation of the Irish and German nationalities can probably be explained by the fact that these two groups belong to what is called the "Old" immigration, that is, the immigration which took place roughly between 1830 and 1885. Descendants of the "Old" immigration have lost most of their national solidarity and are, perhaps, more "conditioned" through custom and training to participate in movements such as Cana.

At any rate, it is clear that the movement has not attracted the active participation of sufficient numbers among the descendants of the "New" immigration. Although we lack adequate data concerning the ethnic background of the general Catholic population, what information we have on national parishes and the number of foreign-born whites in the area suggests that the population of Chicago is characteristic of American industrial regions in its ethnic composition. To the extent that this is true, we must conclude that present Cana personnel are not representative of the total Catholic population in this regard.

What size of family do the couples come from? Table III gives the number of siblings reported by the husbands and wives of each category. It appears that the respondents came from somewhat larger sized families than the national average of this

TABLE III
SIBLINGS IN THE COUPLES' FAMILY OF ORIENTATION

Husband's Family Siblings	Doctors		Others	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
None	1	3.7	4	4.9
One	11	40.7	19	23.2
Two	2	7.4	20	24.4
Three	5	18.5	14	17.1
Four	2	7.4	11	13.4
Five or more	6	22.2	14	17.1
Total	27	99.9	82	100.1
Wife's Family Siblings				
None	3	11.1	12	14.6
One	4	14.8	8	9.8
Two	8	29.6	16	19.5
Three	1	3.7	17	20.7
Four	4	14.8	9	11.0
Five or more	7	25.9	20	24.4
Total	27	99.9	82	100.0

period. The medium size of their families of orientation was four. Since the majority of these families were in progress during the depression, this average size constitutes a fair birth rate although we do not know how it compares with the rate of the general Catholic population during this period. In this connection, it seems safe to state that among urban Catholic couples fertility is less controlled than among Protestants, and it appears that the fertility of both religious groups reacts to similar environments in the same direction although this is somewhat less marked among Catholic than Protestant couples.⁸

Some indication of the social status of the couples can be obtained from a study of their educational backgrounds. At the same time, information was obtained on the amount of training received in Catholic schools. Table IV presents the educational background of the husbands. Among the doctors, the large ma-

TABLE IV HUSBAND'S EDUCATION

	Doc	tors	0	thers
Type	Number	Per Cent (a	Number	Per Cent (a
Elementary		(100.0)		(100.0)
Catholic	23	85.2	61	74.4
Non-Catholic	4	14.8	21	25.6
Total	27	100.0	82	100.0
High School		(100.0)		(100.0)
Catholic	22	81.5	54	65.8
Non-Catholic	5	18.5	28	34.2
Total	27	100.0	82	100.0
College		(100.0)		(62.2)
Catholic	25	92.6	32	62.7
Non-Catholic	2	7.4	19	37.3
Total	27	100.0	51	100.0
Professional		(100.0)		(14.6)
Catholic	23	85.2	11	83.3
Non-Catholic	4	14.8	1	16.7
Total	27	100.0	12	100.0
Part-College			10	(12.2)
Technical			11	(13.4)

⁸ For pertinent data, see Thomas, op. cit., pp. 141-44.

jority were educated in Catholic schools. Of the others, approximately two-thirds received a college education, another 12 per cent had spent some time in college, and about 13 per cent had obtained some technical training after completing high school. About two-thirds of this group were educated in Catholic schools.

a) The figures in parentheses refer to the percentage of all respondents in the group falling into the specified category.

TABLE V WIFE'S EDUCATION

	WILE S EDO	CATION			
Type	Doc	tors	01	Others	
	Number	Per Cent (a	Number	Per Cent (a	
Elementary		(100.0)		(100.0)	
Catholic	22	81.5	75	91.5	
Non-Catholic	5	18.5	7	8.5	
Total	27	100.0	82	100.0	
High School		(100.0)		(100.0)	
Catholic	22	81.5	70	86.1	
Non-Catholic	5	18.5	12	13.9	
Total	27	100.0	82	100.0	
College		(44.4)		(56.1)	
Catholic	9	75.0	37	80.4	
Non-Catholic	3	25.0	9	19.6	
Total	12	100.0	46	100.0	
Part-College	7	(25.9)	11	(13.4)	
Technical	6	(22.2)	8	(9.8)	

Table V presents the educational background of the wives. It will be noted that the great majority received their education in Catholic schools. Approximately half had obtained a college education, and a high percentage of the remainder had spent some time in college or had received technical training after completing high school. Although we do not know the educational

a) The figures in parentheses refer to the percentage of all respondents in the group falling into the specified category. background of the total Catholic population in the Chicago area, Table IV and V indicate clearly that our respondents ranked well above the national Catholic average as this is generally estimated.

⁹ For a résumé of the national data, see ibid., pp. 135-36.

Further information on the social class status of the couples can be gathered from a study of the husband's occupation. Table VI shows the distribution according to the four occupational categories represented. Of course, the doctors all fall

TABLE VI OCCUPATIONAL RANK OF HUSBAND

Occupation	Doctors	Ot	hers
		Number	Per Cent
Skilled	******	9	11.0
Lower white-collar worker	*******	6	11.0
Upper white-collar worker	*******	56	68.2
Professional	100.0	8	9.8
Total	-	79	100.0

into the professional class. The occupational rank of the others is relatively high, suggesting that they were not representative of the general Catholic population in Chicago in this respect. What little information we have on the national Catholic population indicates that somewhere between one-half and two-thirds can be classified as urban manual workers. There is little reason to believe that the Chicago Catholic population differs widely from this national average. 10

All but roughly ten per cent of the wives were employed before marriage. The majority were employed in traditionally feminine occupations such as teaching, nursing, and secretarial work. After marriage, only five of the wives were employed full time outside the home, and an additional five were employed part time. The remainder found marriage a full time career. Indeed, one mother of a fair sized family answered the question of employment outside the home with a series of exclamation points.

At what age did these couples enter marriage? According to the data presented in Table VII, both husbands and wives entered marriage at somewhat later ages than the national average. Doctors tended to enter marriage later than others. In general, Americans marry at relatively early ages, but among the urban population, ethnic background and socio-economic class have been found to be prominent factors affecting the age at marriage of various groups. Both these factors were probably operative among the couples studied.

¹⁰ See ibid., pp. 136-38.

TABLE VII
AGE OF COUPLES AT MARRIAGE

Age of Husband	Doctors		Others	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Under 22 years	****	0.0	6	7.3
22-26 years	16	59.3	52	63.4
27 years and over	11	40.7	24	29.3
Total	27	100.0	82	100.0
Age of Wife				
Under 22 years	7	25.9	16	19.5
22-26 years	14	51.9	52	63.4
27 years and over	6	22.2	14	17.1
Total	27	100.0	82	100.0

An important item from the viewpoint of Catholic social action is the length of time couples engaged in Cana work had been married. Table VIII indicates that the doctor couples rep-

TABLE VIII LENGTH OF MARRIAGE

Length	Doctors		Others	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Under 5 years	3	11.1	31	37.8
6-10 years	11	40.7	25	30.5
Over 10 years	13	48.1	26	31.7
		-		
Total	27	99.9	82	100.0

resent longer marriages than the others. There may be a selective factor operative here since it is possible that doctors may not engage in Cana work until they have acquired considerable professional experience. It is interesting to note that over two-thirds of the other couples had been married for less than ten years. This suggests that Cana work appeals to newly married couples although the relatively low percentage of couples who have been married over ten years may also be explained by the newness of the movement.

At any rate, considering the fact that the busiest period of the modern marriage cycle occurs in the first decade, that is, during the childbearing and early child-rearing stages, it would seem important that an increasing number of older married couples should become interested in the work of Cana. Such couples would have the benefit of both leisure and experience. The contemporary marriage cycle tends to offer the modern woman a great deal to do in the early stages of marriage and too little to do in the middle and later stages. Some form of Catholic action should tap this large potential resource.

In this connection, it is interesting to note that most of the couples engaged in Cana work are starting families. The information presented in Table IX suggests that most of these women have a fairly full schedule at home. It may be that the Cana movement with its emphasis on successful marriage and parent-

TABLE IX
NUMBER OF CHILDREN PER FAMILY

Number of Children	Doctors		Others	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
None	1	3.7	7	8.5
One	2	7.4	14	17.1
Two	4	14.8	20	24.4
Three	4	14.8	14	17.1
Four	8	29.6	13	15.8
Five or more	8	29.6	14	17.1
Total	27	99.9	82	100.0

child relationship, offers a special appeal to couples during the childbearing and early child-rearing stages. On the other hand, as we have suggested, the very newness of the movement may tend to attract young couples rather than old. As the movement progresses, it will be interesting to note how many couples remain in the work, thus indicating that they consider it a valuable form of Catholic social action.

At the time of the study, over fifty per cent of the couples had been in the movement for two years or less. This might be explained by the fact that the work has been expanding very rapidly in the past few years, but it would be interesting to learn the rate of turnover in Cana personnel as the movement develops. According to our findings, doctors became interested in Cana work through the influence of other workers, primarily of their own profession. Other couples owed their first interest in the work about equally to other workers and to actual experience in attending a conference. Their active participation in the work was secured primarily through the direct invitation of a priest or another Cana worker.

Finally, information was obtained concerning other Catholic social action participation of the couples. Over one-third of the couples were active in the Christian Family Movement. Approx-

imately two-fifths were not engaged in any other Catholic action activities. Only about one-fifth of the doctor couples and one-ninth of the others were active in various parish activities. This point is interesting since it is frequently assumed that the same people are active in all forms of Catholic social action. This does not appear to hold true for a good percentage of the couples in our study.

In conclusion, the limitations of this study scarcely call for comment. The sample is relatively small, and the pertinent information on the couples is not all that might be desired. However, it does offer some insight into the types of couples who are attracted to active participation in the Cana movement. They tend to be relatively young married couples in the early child-bearing and child-rearing stages of their family cycle. The majority received considerably more formal education than did members of the general Catholic population in this area, and their occupational status was higher. Finally, they were drawn primarily from among the descendants of the "Old" immigration.

Several suggestions may be tentatively advanced on the basis of our findings. First, it would seem important to interest more older couples in the work. Second, attempts should be made to secure a more comprehensive ethnic representation in the group. Third, since the thinking of the group will be predominantly along middle-class lines, some effort should be made to understand the specific marriage and family problems of lower-middle and lower socio-economic classes. These classes comprise a large segment of the Catholic urban population. Their backgrounds, systems of values, and marital aspirations must be understood if they are to be aided in developing a successful Christian family life.

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JOHN L. THOMAS, S.J.

Institute of Social Order, St. Louis, Missouri

NEWS OF SOCIOLOGICAL INTEREST

SISTER MIRIAM LYNCH, O.S.U. URSULINE COLLEGE, CLEVELAND, OHIO

RESEARCH PROJECT

Dr. John D. Donovan and Professor Robert G. Williams of the Sociology Department of Boston College have just completed work on a project between Boston College and the Massachusetts Division of the Blind. Known as The File Survey and Analysis Project, it involved the classification, interpretation, and coding for statistical analysis of all the medical and social data concerning the blind in Massachusetts. Dr. Donovan was Project Director. He was assisted by Professor Williams, other faculty members, and by a staff of graduate and undergraduate students from the fields of Social Work, Sociology, and Psychology.

Sister Mary Edward Healy, C.S.J., of the College of St. Catherine, St. Paul, Minnesota, was given a research grant during the summer of 1956 to study Russian education at Fordham University and Columbia University in preparation for a series of lectures to be given to undergraduates from four liberal arts colleges in St. Paul, Minnesota. This Russian Area undergraduate program is sponsored by the Hill Foundation. Research grants were given by the Hill Foundation to two faculty members

from each of the four colleges.

Associate Professor Antanas Musteikis of the Department of Sociology, D'Youville College, Buffalo, New York, is continuing research on "Soviet Nationality Policy in the Baltic Countries." This study was begun with the aid of a grant from the Mid-European Studies Center in New

York in 1954. Some phases of it have been published.

Dr. Everett C. Hughes has resigned the chairmanship of the Department of Sociology, University of Chicago, to devote additional effort to research and teaching. He is studying the social psychology of medical education this year at a state medical school. Dr. Hughes also participated in a UNESCO meeting of experts who considered the contribution of the social sciences to international peaceful cooperation. This was held in Geneva in July 1956.

The Social Thought of John de Lugo, a Spanish Jesuit of the seventeenth century, is to be published in the near future by Schöningh (Paderborn, Germany). The author, Reverend Gabriel Brinkman, O.F.M., who completed his doctoral work at Catholic University in 1956, is currently on the faculty of Our Lady of Angels Seminary, Cleveland, Ohio.

DEPARTMENTAL NEWS

Rev. Hugh Dunn, S.J., assistant professor of sociology at the *University* of *Detroit*, has been named the new president-rector of *John Carroll College* of Cleveland. Father Dunn, who specialized in marriage counseling while completing his doctorate at Catholic University, has been active in Cana Conference work in Detroit.

Sister Thomas Albert, O.P., head of the Sociology Department of Albertus Magnus College in New Haven, has been named Dean of the College.

St. John's Abbey, Collegeville, Minnesota, has introduced a course in Industrial Sociology this semester, and plans to introduce Cultural Anthropology next term. Father Paul Marx, O.S.B., has just returned to the staff after four years of doctoral study at Catholic University.

John Carroll University, Cleveland, Ohio, is making plans for its fifth annual Institute in Industrial Sociology which will be held in the summer

of 1957.

Sister Marie Agnes of Rome of Rivier College, Nashua, New Hampshire, has initiated an Introductory Course in Anthropology this semester. Sister gave a talk on "Personality Conflict and Stability" at the request of the Catholic Women's Guild of St. John the Evangelist Parish in Hudson, New Hampshire, in September 1956.

Saint Louis University: The Department of Sociology, Graduate Program in Social Anthropology, has now admitted three full-time candidates for the Master's degree with a research concentration in social anthropology in the new program. Topics range from the study of the effects of urbanization upon an Indian tribe to a study of the Mexican immigrants to Los Angeles.

Dr. Allen Spitzer, Director of Anthropological Research, was reappointed to the rank of Associate Professor of Anthropology, with permanent tenure effective September 1, 1956. In June, Dr. and Mrs. Spitzer revisited the Blackfeet Tribe in Montana, to study the social reorganization of the tribe at the invitation of the Tribal Council. The month of August was spent in Tepoztlan, Morelos, Mexico, for a special study of the barrio of San Miguel in connection with folk Catholicism, and also in continuation of a proposed monograph on the life and works of Robert Redfield, the field work for which will engage the Spitzers in a long-range progam over the next five years.

New seminars announced for the Graduate Program in Social Anthropology include an Area Studies seminar on Rural Mexico; a seminar on the

works of Robert Redfield, and a seminar on the People of Yucatan.

Reverend Joseph Fichter, S.J., is a visiting professor in the Department of Sociology at the *University of Notre Dame* for the Fall and Spring Semesters. He is offering courses in Parish Sociology and the American Negro. He is also conducting a graduate research seminar in the Catholic Parochial School. Ten research fellows are actively working with Fr. Fichter in the field on this project.

Dr. Robert Schmitt, a psychiatrist, has been appointed as a part-time lecturer to the Department of Sociology. He is teaching a course in Social Psychiatry and will offer a course in Child Development in the Spring.

Mr. Raymond Grummell has been added to the Correctional Program as a part-time instructor. Mr. Grummell is a Federal Probation and Parole Officer in the City of South Bend, Ind.

Dr. John J. Kane, head of the Sociology Department, will give a series of lectures on intergroup relations in Alabama, Florida and Kentucky during the Fall semester under the auspices of the National Conference of Christians and Jews. Dr. Kane was promoted to the rank of full professor effective September 1, 1956. He has also been appointed chairman of the Social Science Committee for the current year. Mr. John Hughes and Mr. Donald Barrett cooperated with Dr. Kane in writing

the sociology section of the social science course which has been printed in mimeograph form for use this Fall.

Reverend Raymond W. Murray, C.S.C., spent the summer at two state mental institutions in order to collect data on his research in the field of social psychiatry which he has been carrying on for several years.

MARRIAGE AND FAMILY LIVING COURSES

Father John McCracken, Assistant Director, Catholic Social Service, Oakland, California, is moderator of a Marriage and Family Living Series at the College of the Holy Names in Oakland. This series of ten lectures and panel discussions utilizes a physician, a psychologist, a home economist, and an attorney. Father McCracken's thesis (M.S.W., Catholic University, June 1950) was entitled "Parochial Marriage Course for Engaged Couples."

Sister Paulette, of the Prairie du Rocher Community Consolidated High School, is currently writing a high school text for marriage and family living classes.

Benedictine Heights College, Tulsa, Oklahoma, offers an evening course in Marriage and the Family that is open to adult and part-time students. Father Maurice Freemyer, O.S.B., of Conception, Missouri Abbey, teaches the course. The College has just moved into a new air-conditioned building.

The statistics class of La Salle College, Philadelphia, is conducting a study of attitudes of Catholic students toward mixed marriage. The respondents will include all Catholic freshmen at La Salle College (over four hundred) and those at four neighboring Catholic women's colleges (again over four hundred). Plans are being made to test the relationship between favorable attitudes toward mixed marriage and such factors as the frequency of attendance at Mass and reception of the Sacraments in the last four weeks and in the last year, the religious level of the home life, the number of children wanted when and if married, the number of children in their own families, social class identification, some objective criteria of socio-economic status, nationality, Catholic or public school education to date, all-Catholic or mixed marriage of parents, age and sex.

SOCIOLOGY CLUBS

The Sociology Club of the College of St. Francis, Joliet, Illinois, sponsors Interracial Week and National Family Week on campus. The Club also directs the Community Chest Drive at the College and sends volunteers to the agency office during the Drive. Two student projects which function under the Club, yet are autonomous within themselves, are the local Youth Center for Negro children and the Volunteer Program for patients at Manteno State Mental Hospital. The Youth Center is under the auspices of the Catholic Charities with a full-time paid Director. Two students from the College of St. Francis go down each day to direct recreation and crafts from 3:30 to 5:30. This requires ten girls each week. The Christian Family Movement provides the transportation and aids in holiday parties. . . . Twelve students go to Manteno Hospital once a month, serving all day Saturday from 9:00 to 5:00. Ten hours of orientation work are taken in the morning from qualified staff personnel. The after-

noon is spent on the wards or in the beautiful new occupational therapy building, Forbes Center. Students may elect to work with patients in ceramics, physical education, the library, music therapy, table games, or art crafts. A member of a local Service Club offers transportation each month.

Monthly meetings of the Club are held at local agencies, the pediatrics department of the hospital, nursing homes for the aged, special education classes, or the T.B. sanitarium. An out-of-town field trip is taken each semester to an institution for the mentally retarded, a Good Shepherd

Home, or to a school for crippled children.

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At Our Lady of the Lake College, San Antonio, Texas, the national honorary social science society, Pi Gammu Mu, substitutes for a sociology club. In 1952, the Our Lady of the Lake Chapter received a national award from Freedom Foundation for it campus program. In 1954 the Chapter organized the first study tour offered for credit by the college, "Social and Political Institutions of Modern Europe." This year an author's tea was given in honor of the faculty sponsor, Sister Frances Jerome, when her book, Cultural Values of American Ethnic Groups, was published. On October 11, a panel from the League of Women Voters spoke on "Women's Responsibility to Vote."

Rosary College, River Forest, Illinois, also has a Chapter of Pi Gamma Mu. It has sponsored talks by outside speakers, including Father William Gibbons, S.J., of Loyola in Baltimore, Carl Witte of the University of Wisconsin, and Senator Paul Douglas. Another project has featured film festivals, including those with relevance to social science, such as "East of Eden," "Grapes of Wrath," "On the Waterfront," and "The River."

Mercyhurst College, Erie, Pennsylvania, has had an active Sociology Club for twenty years. In October, senior sociology students report on summer jobs in social agencies. November and February meetings are devoted to outside speakers, the March meeting to a panel discussion, the April meeting to a social event, a testimonial dinner for the senior sociology students. Last year members of Mercyhurst's Sociology Club collaborated with students of Gannon College on a TV Panel on geriatrics. The Club also sponsors such social action projects as collecting clothing for the needy, visiting shut-ins in the County Infirmary, and helping at the St. Vincent de Paul Salvage Store. Club members also aided in recruiting high school students for Careers in Social Work by giving talks at a high school College Club.

Loyola University, Chicago. The local Chapter of Alpha Kappa Delta, national sociology honor society, sponsored a trip for ninety students through the near westside area of Chicago on October 1. Guides were provided by the Chicago Housing Authority. The tour included visits to three urban renewal housing projects and an opportunity to see Hull House, the Medical Center, the Institute for Juvenile Research, West Madison Street's hobohemia, Maxwell Street's sidewalk markets, and cos-

mopolitan Halsted Street.

On November 26 Alpha Kappa Delta sponsored a talk on the Belgian Congo by the Rev. Ademar De Pauw, O.F.M., Professor in the African Department of the Overseas Institute, French University, New York City.

The Human Relations Club, sponsored by the Sociology Department,

recently presented a series of three talks with question periods on the Middle East crisis. Mr. Saadat Hasan, Midwest Director of the Arab Information Center, spoke on November 13. Mr. Frank Mitchell, Head of the British Information Service in Chicago, presented his country's case on November 27. Mr. Isaac Unna, Vice Consul of Israel, discussed his country's role on December 11. Students from other colleges and universities in the area attended.

A Communion Breakfast is scheduled for January 13. The speaker will be Mr. Lloyd Davis of the Chicago Catholic Interracial Council and recent winner of an award from the Chicago Commission on Human Relations. Mr. Davis is also an M.A. candidate in sociology at Loyola.

UNDERGRADUATE PREPARATION FOR SOCIAL WORK

Sister Christina, head of the Sociology Department of Marygrove College, Detroit, Michigan, took part in a panel discussion on "Field Work at the Undergraduate Level of Education for Social Work" at the Sixth Invitational Area Conference on Undergraduate Education for Social Work, held on October 12 at East Lansing. The entire session was devoted to arriving at a better understanding of the needs of the undergraduate student who is planning to enter the profession of social work. At the meeting of the group last year the delegates discussed the point that a student of social work is best prepared for her profession by a sound background in the liberal arts.

Notre Dame College, South Euclid, Ohio, gives course credits to students who spend the summer preceding their senior year working and studying in a state welfare institution, the Girls' Industrial School or the Juvenile Diagnostic Center. The student placement program at Girls' Industrial School has continued since 1944. This semester a new program has been introduced whereby students are given course credit for work at the Cleveland Catholic Charities Bureau, under the supervision of Miss Florence Mason. Dr. F. W. Grose is director of this program.

Students of Mercyhurst College, Erie, Pennsylvania, worked during the past summer in Catholic Charities offices in New York, Pittsburgh, and Rochester; in the Social Service Department of Warren State Hospital; and in the Erie County Institution District Office.

Mother Mary Chrysostom, head of the Sociology Department of Rosemont College, Rosemont, Pennsylvania, reports that last year Rosemont placed its sociology majors in various agencies for some practical experience one afternoon each week. This work was preceded by a three-hour course in case work so that the students would be oriented toward agency work.

CONVENTIONS, REGIONAL MEETINGS, OTHER ITEMS

The Chicagoland Unit of the ACSS met at Loyola University on October 20th to discuss the topic "The Teaching of Industrial Sociology: Differences in Approach at the High School and College Levels." Sister Aquinice of Rosary College spoke; Dr. James McKeown of De Paul was discussant. In preparation for the meeting Sister Aquinice sent out a questionnaire regarding course content, reading lists, and other teaching aids. All but three of the educational institutions which responded indi-

cated that they considered industrial sociology necessary at the undergraduate level for both men and women students. About five women's colleges wrote that faculty shortage was all that kept the course from being offered. It was suggested that case studies from industry might be introduced in courses in social psychology, race relations, and methodology. At the high school level most of the schools seem to have adopted the plan written up by Brother Janson and Sister Henrice. Some use the text for high schools by Dr. Eva Ross. Most draw heavily on the paper Work (21 West Superior Street, Chicago) for current illustrations of industrial interaction. Reading lists in Industrial Sociology (in use at the University of Notre Dame; St, Mary's, Notre Dame; Fordham; De Paul; Loyola; and St. Mary's Academy, Milwaukee) were duplicated for members of the unit.

The New England Regional Meeting of ACSS was held at Anna Maria College, Paxton, Massachusetts, on October 12 to discuss "A General Reading List for Sociology Majors."

John A. McDermott, housing specialist with the Commission on Human Relations of Philadelphia, was among the ACSS members who attended the National Catholic Social Action Conference from September 7 to 9 in New Orleans. He represented the Philadelphia Catholic Housing Council.

Father Joseph Schuyler, S.J., Loyola College and Seminary, Shrub Oak, New York, gave a paper on "Northern Parish," an analysis of its religious life, at the September convention of the American Sociological Society in Detroit. Among ACSS members attending the convention were: Sister Francis Jerome, Our Lady of the Lake College; Dr. Clement S. Mihanovich of St. Louis University; Sister Aquinice and John Meany of Rosary College; Father Joseph P. Fitzpatrick, S.J., of Fordham; Mr. John Connors of La Salle College; Father Joseph Scheuer, C.PP.S., of St. Joseph's College, Rensallaer, Ind.; Father Hugh Dunn, S.J., of the University of Detroit; Sister Christina, I.H.M., of Marygrove; Mr. Bates of St. Louis University; and Sister Leila, R.S.M.

Father John McCracken, Assistant Director of Catholic Social Service in Oakland, California, edited the booklet, What Is Catholic in Catholic Social Work? which contains talks given at the National Conference of Social Work by Bishop A. Bell, Father Swithin Bowes, and Miss Jane

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Sister Aquinice of Rosary College participated in a panel on the "Contribution of Education and Religion in Community Development" as part of a series of workshops planned by the Oak Park-River Forest Com-

munity Organization.

John A. McDermott participated on a panel held at the National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials annual meeting in Philadelphia, from November 28 to 30. He spoke on "Neighborhood Stabilization in Racially Changing Areas" at the annual meeting of the National Committee against Discrimination on October 12, 1956... Dr. John J. O'Connor has given numerous lectures in the South on the general theme of building better community relations. He attended the ACSS intergroup relations committee meeting in New York, October 15–16, under the chairmanship of Father Albert S. Foley, S.J.

The Saint Louis University Department of Sociology and the Human Relations Center presented Pitirim A. Sorokin, director of the Research Center in Creative Altruism at Havard University, in a series of five lectures from November 14 to 20. The topics were: "Philosophy of Integralism," "Social Philosophies of Our Times" (Danielevsky, Spengler, Toynbee, Northrop, Kroeber, Schweitzer), "Fads and Foibles in Modern Sociology, Psychology, and Psychiatry," "The Basic Factors in the Rise and Decline of Totalitarianism," "Crisis of Our Age."

"New challenges and a new approach" was the theme of the first annual meeting of the Catholic Council on Working Life November 8th

in the Hamilton Hotel, Chicago.

The Council is the successor to the 12-year-old Catholic Labor Alliance. It aims to bring together men and women from all walks of life who are interested in applying Christianity to the day-to-day problems that arise at work, in the union hall, in trade and professional associations, in government and in the community.

"The new name and the new organization is an attempt to describe more accurately the broadened scope of our interests and activities," according to James F. Ganly of Chicago, president of the Council.

The Council's new board of directors will include twenty persons prominent in the fields of labor, management and community life, he re-

Speakers at the meeting included Louis Buckley of the U.S. Department of Labor, and lecturer at Loyola of Chicago; Harry O'Haire, executive secretary of Serra International; Father William Quinn, Chaplain to Chicago Catholic Action Federation; Father Daniel N. Cantwell, Council Chaplain; David O'Shea, newly appointed executive director of the Council and Robert Senser, assistant editor of Work, the Council's monthly

nublication

ported.

Ave Maria, Notre Dame, Indiana, has reprinted its six-page report titled "What You Should Know About Mixed Marriage," which appeared in its November 24 issue. Prices are five cents each; \$3.75 a hundred; \$32.50 a thousand.

The 15th Annual Industrial Relations Conference will be held April 9 and 10 in Minneapolis. Discussion sessions will include organizational planning, industrial relations research, staffing, labor relations, manpower de-

velopment, wage and salary administration.

The 4th National Conference on International Economic and Social Development will be held February 12 and 13 in Washington, D. C., at the Hotel Statler.

New publications of possible interest to members are Intelligence of the American Negro by Robert D. North (8 pp., 15 cents each); The St. Louis Story: A Study of Desegregation by Bonita Valien (72 pp., 35 cents each); Segregation and Integration: Digests of Recent Research edited by Melvin M. Tumin (80 pp., \$2.00 each). They are available at the Anti-Defamation League, 515 Madison Avenue, New York City 22.

Rev. Joseph B. Schuyler, S.J., Loyola Seminary, Shrub Oak, N. Y., wishes to inform those who ordered copies of his subject bibliography at the Milwaukee convention that the cost will be one dollar (including mailing). He adds: "1. Copies will be sent to those who signed up, unless they indicate

their change of intention. 2. Others will receive them on payment and request. 3. All interested are asked to inform me immediately — to make it possible for me to plan proper run-off and to arrange for restenciling if necessary. Such prompt information will save time, work, money, etc. 4. This is being done only because of the insistent demand by many at the convention."

BOOK REVIEWS

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BROTHER GERALD J. SCHNEPP, S.M. St. Mary's University, San Antonio 1, Texas

Personal Influence: The Part Played by People in the Flow of Mass Communications. By Elihu Katz and Paul F. Lazarsfeld. Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1955. Pp. vii+400. \$6.00.

The rediscovery of the primary group is one of the most recent developments in empirical social science. Researchers in several divergent fields have been forced as a result of empirical findings to revise the frame of reference they were employing in order to make room for the intervening role of primary group relations.

The Hawthorne Studies, *The American Soldier*, and the Yankee City Series confirm the hypothesis advanced by the authors of *Personal Influence* that the traditional image of the mass persuasion process must make room for "people" as intervening factors between the stimuli of such media as the press, radio, television, and the resultant opinions, decisions, and actions.

Mass Communications research now joins those fields of social research which have rediscovered the "primary group." From such research evolved a clearer comprehension of the phenomenon of Opinion Leadership. Opinion Leadership is not a trait which some people have and others do not, but rather Opinion Leadership is an integral part of the give-and-take of every-day personal relationships. Interpersonal relationships in the industrial plant, in the army or in the urban center are potential networks of communications. In fact people are most often influenced by their status equals rather than by persons "higher up."

Professors Katz and Lazarsfeld's work is a report of the Bureau of Applied Social Research of Columbia University. The first part of the report presents an excellent evaluation of a large number of studies conducted by social psychologists which are relevant to the analysis of personal influence. The second part contains the main findings of an investigation conducted in Decatur, Illinois. Here the researchers attempted to trace the im-

pact of various channels of influence on a cross-sectional sample of 800 women in the realm of marketing, fashion, movie-going,

and public affairs.

The authors have included an up to date bibliography of authoritative references in the field. The footnotes are extremely valuable for suggestive reading and research in communication analysis. This reviewer sincerely hopes that Catholic scholars may someday be inspired to conduct similar empirical research in the field of communications in order that the principles of Christianity may be more effectively radiated throughout the American Community.

WALTER L. WILLIGAN

St. John's University, Queens, 32, N. Y.

The Right To Know. An Exposition of the Evils of News Suppression and Propaganda. By Kent Cooper. New York: Farrar, Straus and Cudahy, 1956. Pp. xiii+335. \$4.00.

A great newspaper executive, Kent Cooper, under whose leadership the Associated Press became the most developed and efficient news agency which it is today, wrote this book as a profession of his faith in the power of news, "the spark that can weld the interests of mankind into a spirit of mutuality and has done so through the ages when not hindered by government action." His opus contains much worthwhile knowleuge; it is of psychological interest inasmuch as it reflects the ideas and the outlook of a man of initiative, imagination, and drive who is so dedicated to his work that he has lost the ability to anything similar to an objective approach to the complex issues involved in the field of freedom of the press. It is of political significance since its experienced author does not hesitate to accuse Woodrow Wilson of propagandizing American citizens into demanding of Congress a declaration of war, and to assert that Franklin Roosevelt goaded "through news propaganda a potential enemy with hostile words and actions and led him, in reprisal, to initiate a military offensive, causing Congress to declare war in self-defense."

But to sociologists Cooper's sermon-like book serves as a most timely justification of their efforts to develop a theoretical framework for the purpose of catching complex social reality and coordinating its many elements with due evaluation of the weight which has to be adjudged to each of them. Cooper, with a magnificent onesidedness, sees the salvation of the world in the free flow of information to which he gives the name of the "Right to Know." This "Right" is presented as though it were a natural, inalienable right. He has no doubt about the possibility of "objective" reporting. Neither does he have any difficulty in seeing newspapers as autonomous institutions to be judged out of context with the social fabric of which they are part and to which the factor of social power belongs as an essential index. Furthermore, Cooper ignores all the problems which derive

from the fact that government as well as business organizations today are big and therefore in need of public relations departments. Likewise, is it really as simple, as Cooper seems to believe, to distinguish between information and propaganda and between secrecy and the evil of news suppression? Is the effect of news exclusively determined by its own character? Does the atmosphere in which news is communicated have nothing to do with its repercussions? Can public opinion be neglected as much as Cooper does in his book? Actually, he believes that about sixty years ago "by reading the same factual, unbiased news at the same time, people everywhere had their thoughts on the same public matters."

This book makes it evident that sociological training is indispensable for all manipulators of public opinion, in particular for the newspaper people. When communication research will have become an integral part of sociology, experienced newsmen

like Cooper will never write a book like this.

RUDOLPH E. MORRIS

Marquette University, Milwaukee 3, Wis.

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Contemporary Social Science. Vol. I. Western Hemisphere. Edited by Philip L. Harriman, Joseph S. Roucek, and George B. de Huzar. Harrisburg: The Stackpole Company, 1953. Pp. xii+585. \$4.50.

"To provide non-social science majors with a knowledge of the status, contributions, perspectives, and interrelations of various social sciences" and "to provide minors and majors in the respective social sciences with a framework within which to integrate and evaluate their courses" (p. iii) are the worthy but ambitious aims of this work. There are chapters on history, political science, economics, sociology, psychology, geography, anthropology, social work, and educational sociology, and on de-

velopments in Latin America and Canada.

Organization of disciplinary histories and surveys on the basis of natural developments is of dubious merit in a book intended for undergraduates. Fortunately, authors of several chapters have departed from the principle. Some of the chapters are almost bibliographical essays and prompt the observation that immature students do not derive much understanding from mere catalogues of scholars or titles. Others attempt to include histories of theory and research, materials for introductory courses, and surveys of current efforts in the fields with which they deal.

The chapter on sociology by the late L. L. Bernard is dominantly bibliographical in character and reveals some of its author's well-known biases. Its final section on recent trends is by Jessie Bernard, who is also the author of the chapter on social work. The latter is an interpretation of assumptions underlying public welfare policies as they have developed in this century. Leslie D. Zeleny's chapter, "Sociology Applied to Edu-

cation," like most American work in so-called educational sociology, is pedagogical rather than analytical in approach.

Although this volume cannot be regarded as successful in attaining its major objectives, it will have occasional uses which discriminating teachers will discern. Adequate perspective on the social sciences, however, will require study of the significant works in these fields and of full historical treatments. The editors deserve a rebuke for attempting, in addition to their major purposes, to provide a short-cut "for all undergraduates who take any of the nationally known tests for entrance to graduate and professional schools or those who seek positions in institutions and agencies where such tests are traditionally and nationally used in the selective process of employment" (p. iii)!

C. J. NUESSE

The Catholic University of America, Washington 17, D. C.

International Law and Asylum as a Human Right. By Manuel R. García-Mora. Washington, D. C.: Public Affairs Press, 1955. Pp. vi+171. \$4.50.

The individual is not recognized by international law. Only states are entitled to refer to its rules. This is one of the most serious setbacks of the positivist theory, which results in the fact that a system of protection for the individual against his own government cannot exist in international law. In the past, however, individuals received certain protection through the practice of humanitarian intervention. But this protection was unilateral, and the state accused of having violated basic rights and freedom was often not inclined to offer remedies. The concept should be, it is true, replaced by the natural law theory following which the individuals are the real subjects of international law. Unfortunately we cannot say that this theory has many chances for advance. It should be noted, however, that when the treaties dealing with the protection of national, linguistic, and religious minorities were concluded after World War I, a system of international rights of the individual was established. But these treaties faded away and the gap should be filled by provisions covering human rights as provided by the Charter of the U.N. We are waiting for this convention binding upon all states and formulating the rights of asylum which has become a highly important problem since the Iron Curtain divided the Free World from slavery.

The present international legal order gives to each state the liberty to grant or to deny asylum, if there is no extradition treaty between the asylum and the requesting state which calls for the surrender of a fugitive. This will apply specifically to criminals but it is generally a practice not to grant extradition if a political offense is involved.

As to the American point of view the State Department took the following position: "It is a well-established principle of international law that no right to extradition exists apart from treaty. No extradition treaty exisits between the United States and the Soviet-Union." Stated an American Circuit Court in Chandler vs. the United States obiter dictum, that political

offenses include "persons charged with treason."

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Each day hundreds of refugees are crossing the border of the Iron Curtain and make their escape for freedom. Who is entitled to ask for asylum and who is not? Up to now the state makes the decision which means life or death to the individual in most of the cases. The chances that we may get the Convention on Human Rights including asylum are slim because the communist world, part of the United Nations, for obvious reasons is not interested in the matter. Nevertheless everything should be done to prepare scientifically the field concerned and to attract the interest of the public that a gap has to be closed to prevent injustice.

HENRY K. JUNCKERSTORFF

Saint Louis University, Saint Louis 3, Mo.

American-Asian Tensions. Edited by Robert Strausz-Hupé, Alvin J. Cottrell, and James E. Daugherty. New York: Frederick A. Praeger, Inc., 1956. Pp. xi+239. \$3.75.

More than fifty per cent of the world's total population of 2.5 billion people are found on the continent of Asia. For any student of Asian affairs, therefore, a clear understanding of the tensions existing between the United States and Asian countries would seem imperative. For purposes of this study, tension is defined as "... a condition which reflects the pursuit of incompatible foreign policy objectives" (p.xii). The editors have attempted to isolate the areas of tension in five Asian countries —

India, Indonesia, the Philippines, Japan, and Egypt.

Official statements by government leaders as well as editorial comments by major newspapers in these countries are used extensively in order to bring the tensions into sharper focus. The root of the difficulty between the United States and both India and Indonesia is reported to be an ideological conflict concerning the real issue in international politics: colonialism or a defense of the free world. Tension between the United States and Egypt springs from our recognition of Israel, but in this case the tactical component seems to be emphasized more than the ideological factor. Tensions, as defined here, do not exist between the United States and either Japan or the Philippines, although many points of friction have developed in the wake of World War II.

A thread of continuity throughout the book seems to be the obvious fact that no single Asian country can be taken as representative of Asian attitudes. Neutralism means one thing to India and another to Egypt; colonialism means one thing to In-

donesia but quite another to the Philippines and Japan.

Although one might question the narrow definition of tension used in this book, the editors have held rigidly to their definition of terms. A refreshing note throughout was the clear and

unequivocal convictions expressed by the editors once the evidence was assembled and analyzed, instead of the "impartial" approach too often seen in works of this kind. An excellent reference work for those teaching courses in international relations.

ROBERT H. AMUNDSON

Loretto Heights College, Loretto, Colo.

The Right of Nations to Expand by Conquest. By Raymond de Martini, O.F.M., S.T.D. Washington: The Catholic University of America Press, 1955. Pp.x+174. \$2.00.

After reviewing the teachings of the classical international lawyers and moral theologians regarding conquest, Father de Martini concludes that a war of conquest can still be justified today in the event of "extreme necessity" on the part of the conqueror matched by actual "superfluity" of wealth on the part of the intended victim. Such a conclusion is not unexpected, but once stated we look in vain for any guide to its application in the twentieth century.

Unfortunately, this dissertation exemplifies vacuous and academic theological speculation in its worst form. Almost all its illustrations are drawn from past eras before nationalism, totalitarian dictatorship, and ideological conflict were rampant; from the time when economics was agricultural, when territorial seizure was the universal form of conquest, and when personal decision-making by rulers had not given way to imper-

sonal bureaucratic processes.

Industrialization has so altered economic structures that the classical form of overpopulation as a reason for conquest (i.e., expansion into adjacent arable land) no longer possesses the same dimensions as in earlier times. Revolutionary confiscation and the nationalization of foreign property stand out as the major forms of conquest today. Yet one would never know this from Father de Martini's work. Consequently, he provides few applicable principles for judging contemporary problems. Furthermore, the author begs his basic question as to how a decision regarding "extreme necessity" and "superfluity" can be made in a world distrusting decisions made by others.

EDWARD R. O'CONNOR

Washington, D. C.

The Perennial Order. By Martin Versfeld. London: St. Paul Publications, 1954. Pp. 247. \$3.00.

"The Perennial Order unfolds the whole fabric of a Catholic mind" (Jacket). This could be done in a purely academical way or, as it were, from the cold olympian heights of metaphysics, as is the case in many books. This book is precisely the contrary. Its purpose is not to expose systematically Catholic philosophy, but taking this as basic, to show how it pervades all human values,

putting them in their real ontological setting and by this very

fact giving them their true meaning.

The knowledge of the author is very extensive. He feels quite at home in almost every subject — science, history, art; Greek, medieval and modern philosophy; religion and ethics — with which he shows a penetrating personal acquaintance. His power of synthesis is admirable; he goes right to the core of the different doctrines and values and from there out he confronts them with the eternal light of Catholic thought, which he has thoroughly mastered. By this very fact, he puts other doctrines and values in their true setting, showing at once what is wrong or lacking in them. His synthetical mind shows up also in his great accuracy and clearness of expression. One senses clarity of thought and a limpid mind!

The author bases his reasoning on the scholastic position throughout. Yet he exposes neither in a schoolmasterly fashion nor in technical language. This makes his book readable for all those who are not afraid of serious reflection and who are eager to model their lives on eternal values. This, however, does not

mean that the book makes easy reading. Far from it.

But those who have the courage to go through it will be grateful to the author for this exposition of the Catholic vision of human values, about which our modern world is much at a loss.

F. JONCKHEERE, S.J.

St. Mary's College, Kurseong, India.

The Case for Right-To-Work Laws: A Defense of Voluntary Unionism. By Rev. Edward A. Keller, C.S.C., Chicago: The Heritage Foundation Inc., 1956. Pp. 128. \$1.50.

The controversy among Catholics, both lay and clerical, concerning "Right-To-Work" laws has become unpleasantly acrimonious. This situation is deplorable to Fr. Keller and he suggests that "all concerned with the controversy...should be willing to consider the facts and arguments in support... as well as the facts and arguments that militate against such laws..." (p. 7). Consequently, he proposes "to analyze the reasons underlying 'Right-To-Work' laws." While this purpose is unassailable, it must be admitted that the tone of his work is one of support for such laws. This is perhaps understandable since he represents what seems to be (judging from articles in Catholic publications) a minority position. Nevertheless, Fr. Keller's statement of the problem and the issues seems in many ways a judicious one.

Fr. Keller states that the basic issues is compulsory versus voluntary unionism. He feels that the "Right-To-Work" laws "...seek to protect the constitutional and natural right to work from the restriction of compulsory union membership, which restricts exercise of the right to work only to members of a union" (p. 7). While this statement may well appear too strong

to many interested persons, this issue is certainly implicit in the whole problem. There is, however, a tendency to view compulsion as always bad. This is not necessarily true. There are many areas of life where compulsion is duly and necessarily exercised. Pity the poor parent who could not at times compel his offspring. If, however, it can be established that more is lost than gained by compulsion a case can certainly be made. A further point of emphasis might be made. The compulsion to join a union or the restriction of the right to work in a particular plant to union members becomes meaningful only in terms of a total employment situation. If it means starvation that is one thing. If it means taking another job that is another. Argument on principles without reference to a factual situation becomes difficult. With these qualifications, Fr. Keller's statement of the issue can certainly be accepted as a valid basis for discussion.

Fr. Keller states that such laws are legal and, indeed, there seems little basis for quarreling on this point. He indicates, however, that the basic controversy concerns the morality of such laws. After a discussion of the question, with lengthy quotations from various authors, Fr. Keller concludes that such laws are inherently neither moral nor immoral, "so long as they do not deny the inherent right of association." He uses a quotation from Fr. Francis J. Connell, C.SS.R., to support this position: "... The Catholic church upholds the principle (of natural law) that legislation that would unduly restrict the right of workers to form unions and to act through those organizations for their reasonable welfare or that would injure social and eco-

nomic progress would be immoral."

In other words, the only answer which could be given to the question — are Right-To-Work laws immoral? — would be in terms of their effects. If they "unduly restrict" or "injure social and economic progress" they are immoral. If not they are not.

The arguments against such laws are then taken up with reference to the above position. Are such laws immorally motivated — aimed at destroying unions? Fr. Keller answers that they are not because: 1. they do not deny the right of the individual to join a union, and 2. such laws could not be passed through the pressure of business interests alone.

Do such laws render the right to organize ineffective? Fr. Keller answers that voluntary unionism is not necessarily ineffective unionism, especially with the legal safeguards of the American situation. The employer's use of favoritism is impossible under the Taft-Hartley Act. In fact, unions have made their greatest progress under voluntary unionism. In the Southern and Western states where unions are most ineffective, and where these laws exist, they are ineffective because of a lack of industry and not a lack of union security.

Do such laws give "non-joiners" a "free ride?" Fr. Keller insists that it is false to suppose that all economic gains are due to unions. In fact, "free riders" are "forced riders" under the Taft-Hartley Act which allows the union to represent non-members. Furthermore, in a day when unions are becoming more and more political, compulsory unionism becomes compulsory

political support through union campaign contributions.

Is there a moral obligation to join a union? Fr. Keller states that this is difficult to prove in general. However, even if it were true, such laws, since they do not deny the right to join, are not necessarily immoral. Further, the teaching of the encyclicals do not prove the necessity of compulsory unionism in this country where adequate union security is guaranteed by law.

Fr. Keller concludes that the moral argument against the

Fr. Keller concludes that the moral argument against the "Right-To-Work" laws is based on the premise that compulsory unionism is necessary today for the reasonable security of union existence and functioning. This premise he denies. The worker's right not to join is a corollary of his right to join. "Voluntarism is at the foundation of our Christian and constitutional

heritage" (p. 92).

To evaluate this argument we must return to its initial point — the morality or immorality of such laws depends on their effects. A judgment of their morality or imorality thus depends on what effect they have or will have. This is the weak point of Fr. Keller's presentation. His argument, in terms of the essential issues raised is certainly sound. But a resolution of the problem, in his own terms depends upon a factual proof of the effects or lack of effects of such laws. The reader is not convinced that the necessary facts or at least enough of them are presented to insure conviction. This crucial point is the real one around which the controversy is raging. It is an excellent example of the necessity of empirical, unbiased research in social science areas. Until the effects of such laws can be demonstrated in terms of objective fact — not opinion or prejudice — the question whether "Right-To-Work" laws are immoral will remain unanswered.

JOHN E. HUGHES

University of Notre Dame, Notre Dame, Ind.

When Prophecy Fails. By Leon Feistinger, Henry W. Riecken and Stanley Schachter. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1956. Pp. vi+256. \$4.00.

Many studies of messianic and millenial movements are very unsatisfactory to the modern social scientist because the reporters of the events had no rapport with the people involved and often were separated, geographically and historically, from the participants. The authors of this recent prediction of the destruction of the world joined the movement they studied as passive participant observers.

Five conditions that marked the movement made it an almost perfect "laboratory" case for the social scientist. These conditions were: 1. A belief of deep conviction that had some relevance to action; 2. Those committed to the belief had undertaken important actions (e.g., prepare for the end of the world and look for spacemen to come from an outer planet and rescue the believers); 3. The belief had to do specifically with real events that the prophet had predicted so that unequivocal disconfirmation could be observed; 4. Undeniable disconfirmatory evidence occurred; 5. The individual believer had social support.

Very much can be learned from this study not only about social movements but also about human psychology. Some very pertinent data have also been gathered concerning the attempts of social scientists to become passive participant observers. This last mentioned effort was found by these sociologists to be almost impossible. One observer, for instance, found that his unobstructive entrance into the group raised the hopes of the believers that he might be the pilot of a flying saucer they were looking for to take them safely to another planet. Even an expression of interest in the esoteric movement laid one open to proselyting so that embezzlement was practically forced upon him. Most enlightening was the renewal of confidence after disconfirmation if social support was available. Lack of social support led to disbelief and dispersal of even confirmed believers.

SYLVESTER A. SIEBER, S.V.D.

Loyola University, Chicago 11, Ill.

The American Community. By Blaine Mercer. New York: Random House, 1956. Pp. xv+304. \$3.75.

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Much of the confusion existing in the field of the social sciences and, in particular, in sociology is caused by an ambiguous use and interpretation of terms. The present volume contributes to a greater clarification of certain sociological concepts. The author does this in a concise and up-to-date sociological analysis. On the basis of this analysis he presents his study on American society in terms of the rural and urban community. The framework of his approach is well chosen: the structural and functional aspect of community and of the American community in particular. The various aspects of community life are discussed such as patterns of change, cultural characteristics, social differentiation, status and role. Four chapters deal with the basic institutions of the community; the family, religion, education, government, and economy.

Basic to all these discussions is the "knowledge of man" as the author states it (p. 3). Man is considered only as social being; his human nature can be understood only in the context of his social life; he has his very being in social relationships (p. 3), and it is "group living which makes man human" (p. 24). These and similar statements point to the author's sociologistic approach; obviously, then, human acts as they present themselves in social relationships are reduced to a mere chain system of stimulus and reaction. This may explain why various and important aspects of community life have not been discussed.

Mention may be made only of the growing influence the modern parish exerts on community life. The Church is not just an "organization founded on a set of social norms and behavior patterns" (p. 224) as the author describes it. Its origin, purpose, norms, and sanctions are of a much more basic and lasting character. Hence, its profound influence on man and his social relationships, particularly also on the more primary relationships of a community. Aside from this, however, The American Community presents a wealth of information to the reader who is interested in the various aspects and functions of modern community life.

SISTER MECHTRAUD, S.SP.S. Holy Ghost College, Manila, P. I.

Wörterbuch der Soziologie. Edited by W. Bernsdorf and F. Bülow. Stuttgart-W. (Germany): Ferdinand Enke Verlag, 1955. Pp. viii+640. \$7.10.

This reference book is a successor to the well-known Handwörterbuch der Soziologie (Stuttgart 1931), edited by Alfred Vierkandt, and long out of print. Vierkandt's work was really more a collection of articles, alphabetically arranged, on fundamental questions of sociology by leading (mostly German) authors, among them Catholic authorities such as Götz Briefs, Gustav Gundlach, Georg Höltker, and Wilhem Koppers. The new work is not an encyclopedia either, but a dictionary somewhat similar to that edited by H. P. Fairchild (New York 1944), but more extensive than its American counterpart. It contains some 350 articles of varous lengths and value. Paging through this German dictionary of sociology one is struck by the evidence of the tremendous influence which American sociology has exercised on our German colleagues in the quarter century since the appearance of Vierkandt's above mentioned "summary." This reviewer counted some 25 articles and cross-references using English titles (as, e.g., Case Study, Community, Cultural Lag, Human Relations, Pressure Groups, Public Relations, Sample, Social Control), not to speak of the very frequent use of English sociological terms or of more or less literal translations of such terms (e.g., Feldforschung for "field work") in the text of many of the articles. The numerous bibliographies are full of references to American publications. Among the contributors are three Americans (O. K. Flechtheim, Kansas City, Mo; A. L. Leschnitzer, Forest-Hill, N. Y.; F. K. Mann, Washington, D. C.), probably all refugees from Hitler.

What German sociologists seem not to have learned from their American colleagues is the emphasis on the distinctive character of the sociological viewpoint. Their concept of sociology, at least as reflected in this dictionary, is far too broad. There are scores of articles in this book which just do not belong there — unless one considers "sociology" as just another word for "social sciences." Catholics will find the articles on natural law, property, common good, person, solidarism, social

philosophy, and the like highly unsatisfactory. But one has to keep in mind that one cannot simultaneously object to the fact that the authors did not stick to their proper formal object, and to the fact that they did not write well rounded articles on sociophilosophical topics. Thanks to the broad concept of sociology of the editors, the dictionary presents us with some interesting and valuable articles by O. von Nell-Breuning, on the vocational group order (pp. 52-57), the corporate state (pp. 269 and 523), and the concept of social status (pp. 525-26). As a warning to candidates for graduate degrees who wish to acquire a vocabulary of German sociological terms: if, in the present dictionary, they come across such odd words as Sollzuwillung, Leball, Gar, Angefühl, Gesinnschaft, Fühligen, etc. etc., they should not worry. It is doubtful that even one out of every 100,000 Germans knows the meaning of these synthetic terms; they are all brainchildren of a certain professor H. L. Stoltenberg who for several decades favors his colleagues and fellow countrymen with new sociological terms he coins. Why editors of encyclopedias and dictionaries seem always ready to provide space for the explanations of his terms, which hardly anybody uses (except their creator) is beyond the understanding of this reviewer.

FRANZ H. MUELLER

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College of St. Thomas, St. Paul 1, Minn.

The Functions of Social Conflicts. By Lewis Coser. Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1956. Pp. 188. \$3.50.

According to Dr. Coser, who is at present Assistant Professor of Sociology at Brandeis University, too little attention has been focused on the concept of social conflict. He deplores the inertia of sociologists who fail to initiate investigations on the sociology of conflict and, stepping out of line, he attempts to point out the positive functions of conflict in all societies.

In the first chapter of his work, the author summarizes some of the findings of the early American sociologists and of the Chicago School of Sociology. He then contrasts the theories of the early sociologists with the findings of the contemporary sociologists, who, for the most part, view conflict in its disruptive,

dissociating, and dysfunctional consequences.

To discover the functions of conflict in groups and in other interpersonal relations, the author analyzes, in seven chapters, sixteen basic theoretical propositions taken from Georg Simmel's classical work, Conflict. As a starting point, Dr. Coser uses Simmel's central thesis, "Conflict is a form of socialization" (p. 31). He believes that a certain degree of conflict is an essential element both in group formation and in the persistence of group life. Simmel's propositions together with the interpretations of the works of the early American sociologists are then used by Dr. Coser to prove the group-building and group-preserving functions of conflict among in-groups as well as among outgroups. Because conflict not only binds antagonists but also es-

tablishes and maintains balance of power, the author calls it the "unifier." He explains the propositions derived from Simmel, his concern is to clarify these propositions by using contempor-

ary data to illustrate, modify, or invalidate them.

The reviewer questions the following statement in the reference section: "To the modern Catholic Church, 'desertion of the faith no longer appears as a vital blow against the survival of the group,' " which Dr. Coser seems to approve (p. 169). Other than this inaccuracy, the book remains a stimulating study of social conflict which may help to correct the pathological view that had hitherto been adopted by too many recent sociologists in their explanation of the concept, social conflict.

SISTER MARIE AGNES OF ROME, P.M.

River College, Nashua, N. H.

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How the Soviet System Works. By Raymond A. Bauer, Alex Inkeles, and Clyde Kluckhohn. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1956. By Rive 274, 2475

sity Press, 1956. Pp. xiv+274. \$4.75.

This final report of the Harvard Project gives an excitingly interesting description of life in the Soviet society. As such it is of value to every educated person. But to social scientists it means more. It is "a fresh look at the Soviet system" which is here presented. This new approach has been made possible by the data on which the report is based and by the methods which are applied for the collection, screening, and evaluation of these data.

Since 1950, the Russian Research Center at Harvard has successfully experimented with the utilization of the Soviet emigration. The responsible scholars of the Center are convinced that through the opening of this entirely new source of information they have gained considerable knowledge, otherwise unat-tainable, "on the day-to-day life experiences of Soviet citizens, on the informal aspects of the functioning of Soviet institutions, and on the psychological characteristics of the Soviet population." More than 12,000 questionnaries were sent out and more than 800 interviews were held. The authors go to great pains to explain the ways in which they worked with the émigrés, and with what degrees of caution and by which criteria they assessed the responses and reactions they received. We mention here only the value of the extended life-history interviews, which included personality and methodological tests, for a critical and qualitative appreciation of the statistical findings that resulted from the questionnaires. However, the authors were not content with the information derived from the refugees but they drew as much from what they call "the more traditional studies" by Western scholars.

There is something else about this report that should be encouraging, if not even flattering to us social scientists. The description of the present situation in the Soviet Union and the projection of the known facts into the future, as given by the

authors, appear convincing and correct even in the light of the most recent events (20th party Congress, the Geneva meeting etc.), although the report was written in 1954 and the majority of the refugees had left their country during World War II or even at an earlier date. It just shows that social scientists if endowed with intimate knowledge of the whole area of their studies are able to see their data in the framework of trends so that they can quite accurately make predictions in regard to the direction in which social, economic and political developments

will go.

The book, limited to the social and psychological aspects of Soviet society, starts out with the outlining of the "operating characteristics of the Soviet system." The following part turns to the life of the individual within the Soviet society, with special emphasis on attitudes and feelings, i.e., the way in which Soviet life affects the citizens and how it is mirrored in their minds. Another part gives information on specific groups, e.g., the intelligentsia and the nationality groups. Finally, the authors draw their conclusions and give some of those forecasts which, as already said, are so much in line with the actual happenings which took place after the book was finished. Among the many facts, ideas and suggestions, proferred in this stimulating exposé, the explanation of the role of ideas and of their relation to action deserves our special attention, as likewise the chapter on nationality groups which shows that social origins and class position determine attitudes and behavior of the respondents more than their nationality.

RUDOLPH E. MORRIS

Marquette University, Milwaukee, 3, Wis.

A Manual of Intergroup Relations. By John P. Dean and Alex Rosen. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1955. Pp. 188. \$3.75.

American democratic society with its pluralistic cultured and social backgrounds faces a new urgency in intergroup relations. Social changes, of a profoundly important character, involving widely diverse groups, are already under way. The complex of social, economic, psychological, and cultural involvements of these changes requires the best efforts and skills of behavorial sciences in study and analysis. Until recently, the considerable amount of knowledge which has been accumulated has not been systematically organized for use in actual social situations.

In A Manual of Intergroup Relations, Alex Rosen, a community organization worker, and John P. Dean, a social scientist, have collaborated in making available for intergroup practitioners some of the tested observations of social scientists and the practical application of these observations to social situa-

tions.

The book summarizes some working principles and is organized around the presentation and examination of these princi-

ples or "propositions" as they are called.

The authors do not claim to have found the final answers to intergroup problems but rather ways of defining and identifying the problems, examining the factors involved, reassessing the problems, moving toward a solution and finally the continued testing and revising of the ideas presented.

This is a practical guide for workers engaged in reducing segregation and discrimination because of the concise, detailed presentation of sound day-to-day practices based on the com-

bined insights and experiences of the two specialists.

THEO M. SHEA

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An Introduction to Social Research. Edited by John T. Doby, with the assistance of Edward A. Suchman, John C. McKinney, Roy G. Francis, and John P. Dean. Harrisburg: The Stackpole Co., 1954. Pp. xii+275. \$2.75.

The aim of this basic text in the methods of research (as well as a foretaste of the prose) is given in the preface: "to introduce the student to the task of how to do research in the social sciences." Part I (three chapters) presents the logic of the scientific method, while Part II outlines various methods of social research ranging from sampling to participant observation. From the first part the reader will gain an enduring appreciation for the rigor with which the true scientist draws his inferences. In the second part, he will be introduced to the tools of research used by the social scientists — sampling theory and procedures, experimentation, scaling techniques, construction of types, questionnaires, interviewing, and so on.

Particularly rewarding are the chapters on statistical method and experimental design. A few hours spent in grappling with this exposition will give the social scientist, who has possibly taken his statistics in a rather cavalier fashion, new

insights into the logic of the statistical argument.

Most students will find the book hard going. The argument is often abstract and punctuated too infrequently with examples. The first six chapters presuppose a good grasp of logic and math, while the chapters on statistics and experimentation will leave the average undergraduate reeling. However, a course built around a text such as this would be a priceless experience. It would leave students with an appreciation for the laboriousness of scientific endeavor and cure them of any tendencies they might have of making easy generalizations.

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Exceptional Children. By Florence L. Goodenough. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1956. Pp. xxxii+428. \$4.50.

The author, a psychologist of repute, in her foreword directs her writings to college students, teachers, parents and others. She then describes not only the nature and the needs of exceptional children, but also the way in which these children should be treated. Thus healthful attitudes will be created by them and towards them in spite of their exceptional characteristics.

Dr. Goodenough says that the major difficulty is not so much the "fact" of difference as the "feeling" of difference which these children develop as a result of the attitudes of others responsible for their general adjustment and personality development. She believes that the superior deviate as well as the intellectually inadequate would benefit by a recognition of these truths.

Of especial interest are the chapters devoted to the highly gifted child. In spite of popular opinion to the contrary, the author explains that the typical child of high intellectual gifts is by no means eccentric, unpopular, or "one-sided." An interest-

ing discussion of the needs of these children is followed by several proposals for solving their difficulties and thus preserving their potential leadership in society.

Regarding her treatment of the intellectually inadequate, this reviewer differs from Goodenough in one of her proposals for the clearly diagnosed mental defectives who are not to be permanently institutionalized. Admittedly at the risk of criticism, the author proposes "sterilization of all cases not to be permanently institutionalized before childbearing becomes possible" (p. 266).

Exceptional Children is remarkably free from technical and scientific terminology. Whenever such expressions occur, explicit definition follows. For readers interested in a more extensive grasp of material an excellent bibliography is given at

the end of each chapter.

SISTER M. ELIZABETH FRANCES, C.S.J.

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Integrating Sociological and Psychoanalytic Concepts; An Exploration in Child Psychotherapy. By Otto Pollak. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1956. Pp. x+284. \$4.00.

At a time when in the area of teaching and research the social sciences are more and more merged into departments of social or human relations, it is only natural that the practitioners are interested in a better coordination of the various approaches to human problems. Psychotherapy, especially in form of psychoanalysis, has during the last twenty years much profitted by incorporating the sociological perspective into its diagnostic and therapeutic work.

A very particular research study, concerning the use of sociological thinking for child therapy, has been undertaken by

our author in conjunction with the Child Guidance Clinic of the Jewish Board of Guardians, with most generous support by the Russell Sage Foundation. Thanks to this aid Pollak was able to serve for over four years as a sociological consultant to the Clinic and to work with the clinical staff on many cases. An ideal teamwork situation was established. Extensive staff discussions opened to both, the case workers (all physchologically trained) and the sociologist, new vistas but also confronted them with problems of "practical and theoretical reorientation." As for the former, concepts such as family of orientation, social interaction, and social role, helped the case worker to see the child as living within a general situation of which each family member is a part (and which incidentally assigns the father the role that behooves him!). Thus, theoretical insights, as, e.g., understanding sick children and sick parents as sick families, were translated into new forms of family diagnosis and family treatment. In this way theory and practice, scientist and social worker, helped each other to change the basis of their ap-

Pollak, who had reported on the first phase of the cooperative effort in a book published in 1952 under the title "Social Science and Psychotherapy for Children," has given us in this second "follow-up report" an exceedingly well written survey which in its transparent clarity of thought and vivid description conveys to the reader a feeling for the dramatic excitement that accompanied the common work; he also indicates the line which further research will have to take. The Director of the Clinic, Herschel Alt, in a final chapter presents an objective evaluation of the joint project as seen from the point of view

of the practitioner.

It is regrettable that the author omits any reference to much of the theoretical work done by sociologists and psychologists in the direction of unified conceptualization. Bales, Parsons, H. S. Sullivan, Allport, but also Cooley are not referred to. Using the word "integrating" of the title, we may say that the somewhat invisible community of social theoreticians will scarcely "integrate" the results of this endowed study. Another question, beyond the judgment of this reviewer, is to know whether the financial situation of most child guidance clinics and the shortage of workers will permit many agencies to do case work to such an extent as the participating clinic in this experiment was able to perform.

RUDOLPH E. MORRIS

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Treatment of the Child in Emotional Conflict. By Hyman S. Lippman, M.D. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co. Inc., 1956. Pp. viii+298. \$6.00.

Author Lippman, Director of the Amherst H. Wilder Child Guidance Clinic in St. Paul, likewise a professor of Psychiatry, Pediatrics and Social Service, has woven his wisdom and his experience into a fine new psychology text about children with emotional problems. The need to recognize emotional problems in children is imperative for "all persons whose work brings them in direct contact with children, recreation directors, workers in character-building agencies, clergymen, camp counselors . . ." (p. 274). Teachers, social workers, social scientists and psychologists as well as the medical personnel will appreciate the straightforward vocabulary, the apt illustrations, and

the eclectic approach of this book.

Dr. Lippman emphasizes that the clinic staff aims at lessening the child's unhappiness, then at helping him to help himself (p. viii). He has organized the usual Freudian chapters under semi-complete sub-themes such as "Approaching Therapy"; "The Neurotic Child"; "The Child With Personality Problems"; "The Child Who Acts Out" (including the author-italicized 'psychopath'); "Prevention"; "Principles of Therapy"; etc. Teachers rank next to parents in their contribution to problem recogniton and solution for "every well-trained, well-adjusted, mature teacher makes a significant contribution to the mental health of her pupils" (p. 274). The whole section on "The Problem of Prevention" (pp. 276–280) is excellent. The level of style lets down somewhat in the last section on "Principles of Therapy," seemingly a stringing together of clinical notes. The preceding twenty-three chapters of good mental meat, however, are superabundant value for the \$6.00 price set by the publisher.

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SHORT NOTICES

How to Adopt a Child. By Ernest and Frances Cady. New York: Whiteside, Inc., and William Morrow & Company, 1956. Pp. 189. \$3.00.

In popular conversation perhaps one of the most controversial subjects is adoption. Why does it take so long? Why can't we get a "brand new baby" instead of waiting until it is six months old? Why can't we get a child like our neighbors did without going through an agency? These and many other questions being asked not only by prospective adoptive parents, but also by the general public are answered in this little book by the Cady's. The co-authors speak not only from their experience as adoptive parents of three, but also from a background of much study of the law and procedures surrounding this vital question.

The presentation is informal, yet does not ignore the sociological aspects of adoption and statistics are occasionally quoted to bolster the sociological statements. A strong plea is made for agency-supervised adoptions as contrasted with independent placements or "gray market" adoptions. (Black market adoptions are just condemned as criminal.)

Chapter 17, "Ten Rules for Parents," is a good practical list for all parents, whether natural or adoptive. One of the outstanding features of this little work is an up-to-date list of agencies and civil authorities for adoption, arranged in appendixes alphabetically.

WILLIAM R. CLARK, O.P.

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Theory and Practice of the Social Studies. By Earl S. Johnson. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1956. Pp. xx+476. \$5.75.

In an age when everything is considered black or white, when a cause is either canonized or condemned, it might seem imprudent to express admiration for a book which seeks to delineate the role of the teacher solely in a democratic, worldly frame of reference. All the more so, since one cannot read many pages of Theory and Practice of the Social Studies without being captivated by the author's sincerity, high ideals, rich social sense and "sweet reasonableness." But praise it we do.

This is a book of vision — the author's vision of the teacher-student relationship in a democratic society. If the author's vision is tied too closely to earth, if the author fails to picture social man in his eternal perspective, even this limitation, great as it is, cannot cloud over the riches hidden in the pages of the book. These riches are the fruit of a remarkable gift of common sense and of thirty-five years of experience in the classroom.

The danger of this book is not to faith or eternal values. Catholic teachers — and the book is worthwhile for all secondary and college teachers, not just for teachers of the social sciences — will easily recognize objectionable passages, as for example, the interpretation of the commandment "Love thy neighbor as thyself" (p. 82), and the author's ideas and ideals to that broader frame of reference which orients the democratic character toward God and eternal life. No, the danger is not

here. Rather the danger is that some may be too quick to condemn where condemnation is not warranted, and they will be the poorer for it. If the Catholic teacher can catch the author's vision and synthesis, this book will be rewarding for him.

JOHN F. KENNEY, S.J.

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Criminology. By Robert G. Caldwell. New York: The Ronald Press Co., 1956. Pp. x+749. \$6.50.

Perhaps the merit of this standard text is also its principal limitation. To explain: in a simple and straightforward manner the author summarizes existing material on the personal and environmental factors in crime and delinquency causation. He also presents and ably criticizes two of the best known theories of such behavior — the "differential association" theory of the sociologist and the psychoanalytic theory of the psychiatrist. Thus the beginning student in criminology will find in this text an excellent introduction to the etiology of crime and delinquency. This is all to the good since the author explicitly states that his book is primarily written for college students. However, since the text is also written for the social scientist, the law-enforcement officer, and the correctional administrator, Caldwell's failure to make any serious effort to integrate the various personal and environmental approaches to causation into a systematic theory of criminal and delinquent behavior is, to this reviewer, an omission of some consequence.

The remaining sections of the text are well done. Particularly attractive is the author's insistence that: (1) crime, despite attempts to broaden the concept, is a violation of the criminal law; (2) a criminal is a person who has been convicted of a particular offense in a criminal court; (3) there may well be an element of free will in every human act; and (4) in our handling of the criminal and the potential criminal it is not a question of treatment or punishment, but rather how both treatment and punishment can be balanced to produce the best results in the modification of behavior.

Finally, the chapters on Criminal Investigation, Criminal Prosecution, Military Justice, and Prison Shocks are especially noteworthy. The first two provide a handy reference to the procedures of criminal investigation and prosecution in our society; the third outlines an increasingly important system of social control for the American male; and in the last, a life-termer describes, as only an inmate can describe, the conflict, distrust, and bitterness characteristic of the typical adult prison.

JOHN M. MARTIN

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Societies Around the World: Shorter Edition. By Irwin T. Sanders, Richard B. Woodbury, Frank J. Essene, Thomas P. Field, Joseph R. Schwendeman, Charles E. Snow. Edited in one volume by Howard Becker. New York: The Dryden Press, 1956. Pp. xx+811. \$6.50.

Whether one is teaching an introductory or an advanced course in sociology one frequently finds oneself looking for a new approach, a new framework or a new method that might be used to enliven the lecture period without sacrificing content or scientific value. To this end Howard Becker's abridgement of the two-volumes *Societies Around the World* would be most useful.

It is not just a compilation of articles making for fascinating reading. The book is well organized and well developed. It comprises, in addition to analytical comments, about one hundred and sixty selections by almost as many authors. Maps and illustrations are excellent.

The reader is first given a guide to the vast area he is about to explore — human society in all its diversity. He is told what to look for and what instruments can be most effectively used so as to reach not

a superficial but a real understanding of the field.

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Three societies — the Eskimo, the Navajo, and the Baganda — are then analyzed. Man's relation to his habitat, to other men and to the supernatural are treated as functional wholes. This is not to imply that only one point of view is given. Diverse approaches and interpretations are presented but in such a way that they stimulate thought and research rather than confuse.

The co-authors of the book aptly illustrate social change through studies of the Chinese Peasant, the Cotton South and the English Midlands, each of which is in a different stage of reaction to this important social phenomenon. All case studies are given not in isolation but as related to one another and to the basic framework.

Sociologists will be particularly interested in the emphasis given to values and value systems and the sacred-secular approach to social change. The editors claim that "It is en entirely proper and normal thing . . . to go beyond what is scientifically provable and to express value-judgments based on precept, prescription, or principle . . . (p. 789).

It is especially good to know that this orientation is presented without any sacrifice of scientific facts or theories.

MARGARET M. BEDARD

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The American Social System: Social Control, Personal Choice, and Public Decision. By Stuart A. Queen, William N. Chambers, and Charles M. Winston. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1956. Pp. xii+494. \$5.75.

This interesting book was written by a sociologist, a political scientist, and an economist, who analyze the American social system and integrate their findings around three key concepts: social control, individual choice, and public decision. The book, divided into four parts and twenty chapters, is the result of a decade of shared experience in teaching a course in social science as a part of general education at Washington University, St. Louis, Missouri.

After having read reports, syllabi, and textbooks from other institutions, taken part in inter-university conferences, studied their own departmental and inter-departmental offerings, talked with and gathered data from their students, the beneficiaries or victims of their work, the authors undertook, in the autumn of 1951, a thorough review of their course, looking toward future revisions. A staff seminar was organized

which functioned during the academic year, 1951-1952.

As a result of the seminar, the writers agreed that in the future the course should continue to be inter-departmental, but not inclusive of all the social sciences; to make less use of knowledge and skills from History and Psychology than those from Anthropology, Economics, Political Science, and Sociology; that this should not be a survey course nor should it be a jigsaw pattern of miscellaneous materials; and, that it should continue to be somewhat cross-cultured in character. The central theme selected for the course appears in the sub-title of this book — social control, personal choice, and public decision. This book, based upon the course, is clearly a joint product and not a symposium.

The central theme has been elaborated and clarified throughout the book. At the beginning of the book, three illustrations — college dating, a Russian factory, and a California gold rush mining camp of 1848-1853 distinguish the interplay of social control, personal choice, and public decision basic to any social situation. A lucid style and live examples from many cultures help to make this book a graphic portrayal of the American social system. The fundamentals of social science, its scope, knowledge,

and inquiries, are elaborated and bound together by the theme.

In addition to these qualities, this book has a high utilitarian value for the reader because it is concerned with the important problem of freedom and control in American society. It has maturity because it is the product of ten years of meticulous inquiry, experimentation, and revision. Clarity of exposition, unity around a central theme, high utilitarian value, and mature development combine to make this a textbook of distinction.

EDWARD A. HUTH

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PERIODICAL REVIEWS

JOSEPH F. GENSERT, EDITOR LOYOLA UNIVERSITY, CHICAGO 11, ILLINOIS

McGurk, Frank C. J., "A Scientist Reports on Race Differences," U. S. News and World Report, 92-96, September 21, 1956.

This report on race differences by Dr. McGurk presents a far different point of view from that of most people who know anything about race. It also uses data in a way never intended by those who gathered them.

Dr. McGurk's main contention was that, "Negroes as a group do not possess as much (capacity for education) as whites as a group." Claiming that increased social and economic opportunities for Negroes have increased the psychological differences between Negroes and whites, he concludes, "There is something more important, more basic to the race problem than differences in external opportunity." His clear implication is that there is something in the Negro which makes him unable to benefit

from educational opportunity. This is a neat way of saying that Negroes are mentally inferior to whites.

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If socio-economic opportunities are important in determining capacity for education, improving them should result in improved capacity for education. With this as his premise, Dr. McGurk then attempted to show that although Negroes had benefited from social and economic improvement, they had not improved in intelligence. He used Negro performance in World War I tests as a base, comparing it with the performance of Negroes in six studies conducted between 1939 and 1951. He claimed that these were the only studies which permitted a comparison between World War I performance and latter-day performance.

One could question Dr. McGurk's selection and the method he used to investigate the problem, and his dismissal of much relevant data. Any such questioning would demolish his arguments. I want to examine his misuse of scientific studies. The crucial assumption in Dr. McGurk's article is that the whites and Negroes in the studies he used were of substantially the same socio-economic status. The authors of these studies had explicitly warned against such an assumption. Five of the six articles to which he referred were examined. The sixth was not available. One article was by Dr. McGurk and referred to his dissertation. This article was irrelevant. The others, as reported by Dr. McGurk, dealt with Negroes and whites who were of the same status. His handling of a study by A. Shuey illustrates his handling of the others. Dr. McGurk said that the whites and Negroes in this study had the "same general cultural status." Shuey, on the other hand, said, "It obviously cannot be inferred that all environmental factors which conceivably might influence the mental test scores of college students have been equated in this study."

The facts cited by Dr. McGurk would in no way support his contention that Negroes cannot benefit from education, if they were reported as a scholar could be expected to report them. It is unfortunate that laymen are sometimes exposed to this sort of pseudo science. It is also unfortunate that social science can be used to confuse, when fair reporting would clarify a situation involving human values.

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Baerwald, Friedrich, "A Sociological View of Depersonalization," *Thought*, XXXI (120): 55-78, Spring 1956.

The relationship between personality, social process and social structure is the subject of Baerwald's essay. "A Sociological View of Depersonalization" should be thought of as a companion piece to "Society as a Process" published by the same author in the AMERICAN CATHOLIC SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW, in December 1944. Together these essays represent a refreshing and novel theory of person and society by a highly individual Catholic and American sociologist.

Marx and Heidegger, like so many other philosophers and scientists of personality and society of recent vintage, tend to think of these phenomena as two quite separated entities, like atoms, opposed. With such a latent assumption in the beginning the conclusion that society inhibits and

frustrates personality, or that personality must radically oppose society for fulfillment, is not uncommonly the undertone, if not an explicit proposition.

In Marx, for example, there seems to be a) the individual and over against him, b) his society. Classed and stratified through a division of labor whose sole end is economic production, society is men engaged in making shoes, food, clothing, etc., then distributing these and (if the society is a capitalistic one) making a profit to reinvest in order to expand more social structures to do it all over again. The person as person in this has no free decision, no consent; only conformity and determination, hence, alienation.

Heidegger also thinks of person as basically separate from society. The "ego" is "thrown" into a web of human relations where he is merely potentiality for adjustment, or where he "suffers" a kind of anxiety (angst). The dominance of society and its instance upon the "we," pre-existing the ego, obstructs personal conscience, and inhibits the drive of the individual to authentic self determination. Existence lived in full individual awareness of ends is the only existence which creates the proper disposition for determined action. But Society through its Talk, Curiosity and Ambiguity levels the individual to an average mediocrity and makes such personal, determined action, impossible.

Baerwald, of course, does not concur with either of these positions. Social process is not something which smothers the ego to negate it. On the contrary, Society is a process of persons in coexistence, and rightly understood, such coexistence is a quite necessary prerequisite to the full unfolding of personality.

Coexistence as a process between individuals occurs through space and time, indefinitely, and allows individuals to erect social structures and institutions into transpersonal systems. By participating in these the individual shares meaningfully not only in the present, but is linked with the past and projected into the future.

Through this involvement, in a transpersonal framework of temporality, the individual experiences a widening of his propriate horizon of time by incorporating into his own existence skills, customs, meanings and values developed over long periods. By sharing this backward extension of the time framework of the group the significant elements of the past are made available to him; his participation in the activities designed to achieve future group objectives tends to give his work a significance transcending the span of his propriate temporality.

Coexistence, therefore, as an interaction process entices the person from his nothingness to the full infinity of the future, and without immersion in social time and space the person is no person. To rebel at social structures, social changes, to reject coexistence, is to be at or approaching personality zero.

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